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MANUSCRIPTS AND RECORDS
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VOLUME I

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NUMBER 7

THE MORAVIAN INDIANS OF OHIO AND THEIR
WANDERINGS, 1782-1809.

The story of the massacre of the Christian Indians at Gnadenheutten, Ohio, is perhaps the blackest page in the history of the treatment of the Indian in the United States. Still there is undoubtedly much to be said on both sides. Situated as they were between the English and the Americans, they were constantly under suspicion and were naturally harassed from both sides. The British believed that Zeisberger and Heckenwelder were friendly to the Americans and suspected that they sent valuable news to Fort Pitt, whereas the settlers on the frontier had little or no faith in the Christianity of the Moravian Indians and believed that they did occasionally take part in the raids on the settlements. Accordingly they were urged by the American government to move nearer to Fort Pitt for protection. The British, however, took action and in the winter of 1781 forcibly removed the Missionaries and many of the Christian Indians from their settlements to the vicinity of Sandusky. Col. DePeyster then ordered the Missionaries to go to Detroit and after carefully examining them as to their neutrality allowed them to return to the Sandusky. His treatment was kind and considerate and when the tragedy here related, occurred, the Missionaries and the remaining Indians were quite willing to accept his invitation to seek shelter under the protection of the British government.

Undoubtedly the massacre had much to do with the cruel treatment of Crawford in the following June.

The Moravians now settled on the banks of the Clinton (then called the Huron) River about three miles from the present town

of Mt. Clemens. They remained there four years always with the hope of returning to their homes on the Muskingum. In 1786 they sold their improvements on the Huron and set out for their former abode. Finding it still unsafe they established themselves on the Cuyahoga at a place *Loskiel* calls "Pilgerruh" or Pilgrims' Rest. Being constantly annoyed by the Indians and by threatening reports, they moved farther west and settled on the Huron River, calling their home New Salem. This was probably in the vicinity of the present town of Milan, Erie Co., Ohio. They soon discovered that they were still in danger and after negotiations with the British authorities, the Missionaries led their Indians into Canada in 1791, spent a year on the Detroit River where Fort Malden was later built and finally obtained a grant of land on the Thames River (Riviere La Tranche) where they established Fairfield. *Heckewelder's Narrative* edited by Connelly; *Zeisberger's Diary* edited by Bliss; *David Zeisberger and his Delaware Indians with extracts from his Journals*, Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. XII, pages 176-198.

A TRUE HISTORY
of the
MASSACRE OF NINETY-SIX CHRISTIAN
INDIANS

at
GNADENHUETTEN, OHIO,
March 8th, 1782.

Published by the Gnadenhuetten Monument Society—
Organized Oct. 7th, 1843.

NEW PHILADELPHIA,
Printed at the Lutheran Standard Office.
1844.

GNADENHUETTEN MASSACRE.

Alas! alas! for treachery! the boasting white men came
With weapons of destruction,—the sword of lurid flame;
And while the poor defenseless ones together bow'd in prayer,
Unpitying they smote them while kneeling meekly there.

The cry of slaughter'd innocence went loudly up to heaven;
And can ye hope, ye murdering bands, ever to be forgiven?
We know not,—yet we ween for you the latest lingering prayer
That trembled on your victims' lips, was, "God, forgive and spare!"

The Moravian Missionary establishments at Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Schoenbrunn on the Tuscarawas River, in Ohio, among the Indians, were frequently interrupted, and the faith and patience of the Missionary brethren and their Indian congregations often severely tried. As their religion taught them to cultivate the art of peace instead of war, and as they wished to preserve neutrality between the English and their Indian allies on the one hand, and the Americans on the other, they were subject to constant suspicion, and were treated in a hostile manner by both parties. The English Governor* at Fort Detroit, influenced by the calumnies of their enemies, believed that the Christian Indians were partisans with the Americans, and that the Missionaries acted as spies. In order to rid himself of them, he sent a message to Pimoacan,† the half-king of the Wyandots, to take up the Indian congregations and their teachers, and carry them away. This man, instigated by the Delaware Captain Pipe, a sworn enemy to the mission, at length agreed to commit this act of injustice.

*Arent Schuyler DePeyster was grandson of Abraham DePeyster, a merchant at New Amsterdam (New York). He was born at New York, June 27, 1736, and died at Dumfries, Scotland, November, 1832. He was a Royalist during the American Revolution and an officer of ability. During the war he was Commandant of Mackinaw and Detroit.

†Pemoacan was the name the Delawares gave the famous Half-King also called Dervantate, Dayenty, Douyentette, etc. He was believed to have been born about 1715 and it is claimed by some Wyandots that he was born in the village of Brownstown, Mich. Mr. Connelley in his edition of *Heckewelder's Narrative* states that he died at Detroit in July, 1788. The *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905, page xciv*, speaks of him as Dewentatee and gives his death as February or March, 1791. (See also note on page 18, this volume.) He lived on the Huron Reserve near the River Canard with his wife and a daughter who had two sons baptised by the Huron priest of the Assumption. *Records of the Church of the Assumption, Sandwich, Ont.; Handbook of American Indians.*

In August, 1781, a troop of warriors amounting to upwards of 300, commanded by the half-king, the Delaware Captain Pipe,* and an English Captain Elliott,† made their appearance at Gnadenhuetten to accomplish this cruel object. The half-king and his retinue put on the mask of friendship and proposed the removal of the Christian Indians as a measure dictated by a regard for their safety. This proposal they respectfully declined, promising, however, to consider their words, and return, an answer, the next winter.

The half-king would probably have been satisfied with this answer had not the English officer Elliott, and Captain Pipe urged him to persevere. The consequence was that the hostile party became peremptory in their demands, and insisted on their removal. Their vengeance was particularly directed against the missionaries, and they held frequent consultations in which it was proposed to murder all the white brethren and sisters, and even the Indian assistants. Finally after much violence, and many barbarous cruelties, they compelled the Christian Indians and their teachers to emigrate, leaving behind them a great quantity of corn in their stores, besides a large crop just ready to be reaped, together with potatoes and other vegetables and garden fruits.

In the beginning of October, 1781,‡ the Missionaries, with the greater part of their congregation, arrived under the escort of the Wyandots at Sandusky. Here their savage conductors abandoned them, and loaded with plunder, returned to their homes, leaving them to shift for themselves in a country that was destitute of game, and every means of support. Pimoacan exulted in the accomplishment of his designs, and informed them that being now in his dominions, they were bound to obey his mandates, and commanded them to hold themselves in readiness to go to battle with him.

For a time the exiles roved to and fro, seeking a favorable locality for their stay over winter, and at length pitched upon a

*Capt. Pipe or Hopocan, signifying the "tobacco pipe" in Delaware, was a restless and ambitious chief, who sided with the English in the Revolution and influenced as many Delawares as he could. He was greatly influenced by Girty, McKee and Elliot. He died a day or two before the battle of Fallen Timbers and was buried at Little Sandusky, Wyandott Co., Ohio. *Heckewelder's Narrative by Connelley, pages 175-176.*

†Matthew Elliott. See note page 224, this volume.

‡A letter from Alexander McKee to Major DePeyster dated Sept. 26th, 1781, shows the feeling the British had toward the Moravians and their reason for forcing the Indians and their missionaries to leave their villages. "Mr. Elliot returned also yesterday from the Moravian Towns and informs me that the party he accompanied to that place were detained there a long time and amused by the Moravians who were secretly sending intelligence and endeavoring to bring the enemy upon them to cut them off, which at length they discovered and then fell upon them and are bringing them away by force; the Hurons are disposed, I understand, to place them at Upper Sandusky where they will still be too convenient to correspond with the enemy," etc. *Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 10, page 518.* About this time Brig.-Gen. William Irvine was appointed by Congress to the command of the Western Department with headquarters at Fort Pitt. He was unable to reach his post of duty until November, 1781.

spot, situated on the East side of the Upper Sandusky, as the best they could find. Yet even here the country was dreary and barren, and they were at a loss to conceive whence the means of supporting so many should come during the winter which had already set in.

Their small stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and the missionaries had to depend upon the voluntary contributions of those members who had a little Indian corn left.

With their usual diligence, rising through faith above all disheartening trials, they commenced at once building huts for the winter. During their labours their daily meetings were kept under the broad canopy of heaven. When the shadows of evening fell upon them, they seated themselves around fires in the open air; one of the missionaries delivering to the listening circle a short discourse. At times, some of the strolling savages would also attend, not to hear the gospel preached, but to scoff and laugh. What a sight! The genius of religion might hover over it, and point to the redeeming power which accompanied the cross of Christ! Wild Savages cleaving to the hope of eternal life amid all the ill fortune that seemed at every step to mark their christian pilgrimage! But their joy no man could take from them.

A message then came to them from the commandant at Detroit, that the Missionaries should quickly repair thither. Glad of the opportunity to exculpate themselves and refute the many lies propagated respecting them, four of the teachers, with several Indian brethren, obeyed the summons. They appeared before the court martial at that place; their conduct was investigated, especially in relation to the imputed "correspondence with the rebels, and frustrating of the intended attacks of Indians upon the frontiers," and they were completely exonerated from all blame.*

The governor endeavored to atone for the ill treatment he had brought upon them, by every act of kindness. He provided them with suitable clothing and other necessities, repurchased their watches for them, and parted from them with most marked expressions of esteem.

Thankful for the gracious interposition of God in their behalf, the Missionaries returned home, and were greeted with unbounded joy by their people, who had apprehended that they

*Dr. Doddridge in his Notes on the Indian Wars appears to me to have given credence to the charges of the Moravians having often sent runners to Fort Pitt to give notice of the approach of war parties and so far violating the terms of neutrality, upon insufficient authority. It is not denied that the Christian Indians relieved the prisoners who were carried through their settlements, and often dissuaded their heathen kinsmen from pursuing their expeditions but their hearts were equally open to every other appeal of suffering humanity. It would appear strange that a circumstance like the one conceded by Dr. Doddridge should not have come to light before the tribunal at Detroit, confronted as they were with their enemies, the chief of whom, Captain Pipe, after some fruitless evasions, was obliged to confess, that he had calumniated them.

would be kept prisoners, as had also been the commandant's original intention. Notwithstanding their extreme poverty the following months were a joyful season to them, and they celebrated Christmas with cheerfulness and a blessing, in their newly built log-chapel.

The year 1782 had now commenced, and their situation was distressing in the extreme. A supply of 400 bushels of Indian corn which had been fetched from the deserted towns was again exhausted, and famine stared them in the face. Provisions of all kinds were wanting; corn was very scarce throughout the country, and such as had it asked a dollar for three or four quarts; the winter was unusually severe, and wood difficult to be obtained. The cattle began to die of hunger; and the congregation were driven to the necessity of supporting themselves upon their carcasses. In some instances babes perished for want of nourishment from their mother's impoverished breasts.

In these deplorable circumstances, after due deliberation, the Indians came to the determination to return once more for food to their forsaken fields, where the corn was still standing. Having formed themselves into several divisions, they set out, in all about one hundred and fifty, men, women and children, the greater part to return no more, but to fall a sacrifice to the treachery and revenge of the white men in the notorious massacre at Gnadenhuetten.*

The actors in this foul transaction consisted of a military band of about one hundred men, from the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, under the command of Col. David Williamson.† The murder was premeditated; for their purpose was to proceed as far as Sandusky, in order to destroy all the Moravian Indians. Among the incentives to this expedition against a quiet and peaceable people, were the unusually early depredations of the savages upon the Ohio settlements, in the month of February, which, it is alleged, led to the conclusion that the murderers were either Moravians, or that the warriors had their winter quarters at their towns; in either case the Moravians being in fault, the safety of the frontier settlements required the destruction of their establishments. Besides the dismissal—of Shabosh and some Christian Indians, who had been captured in the fall, (by Col. Gibson of Pittsburg) which was but a common act of justice, gave great offense to the neighboring settlers. Men of

*My authorities for the following narration are Zeisberger's Journal, Holmes' and Loskiel's Histories, Willet's Scenes in the Wilderness, and Doddridge's Notes.

†Col. David Williamson, a battalion commander in Washington Co., Pa., was born near Carlisle, Pa., in 1752, and died at Washington, Pa., in 1814. When he was young his father, John Williamson, took his family to Buffalo Creek where he built a fort which was maintained during the Revolution. David was popular in his county and his conduct was upheld by the frontier men while considered disgraceful by many others. He was in command of the Moravian expedition but held second place in the expedition against Sandusky which ended in Crawford's death. *Old Westmoreland*, page 133, and *Heckewelder's Narrative* by Connelley, page 440.

the first standing in those parts, in consequence, volunteered to accompany Col. Williamson; each man furnishing himself with his own ammunition, and provisions, and many of them travelling on horseback.

Col. Gibson,* of Fort Pitt—despatched messengers, (as soon as he heard of the plot) to warn the Indians of the approaching danger, but they arrived too late. From another quarter, however, they received timely notice, but, unfortunately, they thought the information unworthy of credit. So secure did they feel at their occupations, that they neglected all their usual precautions. Parties were at work in the cornfields, at each of the three settlements, Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Schoenbrunn. They had already made fine progress and gathered a large quantity of grain, and were beginning to bundle up their packs in order to take their final leave of the places, when suddenly the militia made their appearance.

When within a mile of Gnadenhuetten, Col. Williamson's party had encamped for the night and reconnoitered their position. On the morning of the 6th of March the following plan for an assault was then devised. One half of the men were to cross the river, and attack the Indians who were at work in their cornfields on the West side, whilst the other half, being divided into three detachments, were to fall simultaneously from different quarters upon the village on the East side.—When the former division reached the river, they could not ford it, because it was high and filled with floating ice; but, observing something like a canoe on the opposite side, a young man of the party swam across, and brought over what proved to be a large sap-trough. In this, going two by two, they commenced crossing, but impatient at the delay, a few got over, swimming at its side and holding fast to the edges. In this manner sixteen had crossed over, when the sentinels, who were in advance, discovered a lad, named Joseph Shabosh, the son of the assistant missionary, fired at him and broke one of his arms. The rest hastened to the spot, sending word by those who remained on the East side, for the other detachments to march upon Gnadenhuetten without a moment's delay, supposing that the firing would have alarmed the inhabitants. With most piteous entreaties young Shabosh begged them to spare his life, representing that he was the son of a white man; but, regardless of his cries and tears, they killed him with their hatchets, and scalped him. After thus whetting their appetites in his warm life-blood, the party approached the plantations.

The first to discover their approach was an Indian named Jacob, a brother-in-law to young Shabosh, who was employed near the banks of the river, tying up his corn. Remaining unper-

*Col. John Gibson. See note, page 13 this volume. Also *Washington-Irvine Correspondence by Butterfield*, note on page 350.

ceived, he was about to hail them, supposing them to be a friendly party, when at that instant they shot at one of the brethren who was just crossing the river from the town. Upon perceiving this, Jacob fled with the utmost precipitation, and before their faces were turned towards him was out of sight. Had he acted with some coolness and courage, he might have saved many a valuable life; especially by proceeding to Salem, and giving the alarm. But instead of this, fear led him to flee several miles in an opposite direction, where he hid himself a day and a night.

The party of sixteen now drew near to the Indians, who were at work in the fields in considerable numbers, and had their guns with them, and finding that they were greatly outnumbered, accosted them in a friendly manner. They pretended to pity them on account of their past sufferings, said they had come to conduct them to a place of safety near Pittsburgh; and advised them to discontinue their work at once, and return with them to the town to hold a further parley. To all this the Indians, anticipating no harm from American soldiers, and ignorant as yet of the murder of Shabosh, cheerfully acceded.—Not dreaming that they were to be caught “like fish in an evil net, and as birds that are caught in the snare,” they rejoiced that they had found such true friends, and imagined they saw the hand of God in it,—who was about to put an end to all their sufferings, and lead them to a more secure and pleasant country.

The other detachments had meanwhile arrived at the village, where they found but one man, and a woman, whom they shot, as she was hiding in the bushes. But so prepossessed were the Indians with the idea of removing that nothing was able to shake their confidence in the white men. They cheerfully surrendered their guns, hatchets and other weapons, upon receiving the promise that they should be restored at Pittsburg, shewed them where they had secreted their communion wine and other property in the woods, helped them to pack it up, and began to make every preparation for the journey to Pittsburg.

The native assistant John Martin had gone to Salem, immediately upon the arrival of the party, to inform the inhabitants of the state of affairs; and the next day a troop of horsemen rode down to bring them all in. With the same confiding trust in their profession of peace and good-will, they returned with them, conversing on the road upon religious topics, in which their attendants joined with much appearance of piety. Simple children of the forest, how dove-like had Christianity made you! How little did you dream of deliberate deceit and base treachery, and that as sheep you were being led to the slaughter!—Arriving at the river-bank opposite Gnadenhuetten, their eyes began to open, however, when it was too late. They discovered a spot of blood on the sand, which excited disquietude and alarm. Soon their boding fears received full confirmation. As soon as they

entered the town all were seized, as those in town had been a short time before, their guns and pocket knives were taken by their conductors; they were pinioned, and confined in two houses standing some distance apart; the men in one, the women and children in the other. Here they met together—associates for the last time in sorrow. They mingled their tears and their sympathies together, and their prayers ascended to the throne of grace.

The miscreants now held a consultation, to decide the fate of the prisoners. The charges which they brought against them were, that their horses, as also their axes, pewter basins and spoons, and all they possessed had been stolen or obtained by improper means from the white people, and also that they were warriors, and not christians.—All of them were utterly false and frivolous. On the contrary it is presumable that the expedition would never have been undertaken, or at least not so imprudently conducted, if they had anticipated resistance. They well knew the pacific principles of the Moravian Indians, and calculated on blood and plunder without having a shot fired at them. With a mere show of defence it is likely that such men might have been repulsed. Some deeds of blood were, no doubt, imputed to these Indians, for, according to the statement of the missionaries, the Wyandot and Delaware warriors, who were inimical to the Gospel, had always made it a point to return from their campaigns through their settlements, in the expectation that it would bring the whites upon the Moravians. Some warriors, too, accompanied them on their return from Sandusky, crossed the Ohio and committed several murders, and on their way back stopped near Gnadenhuetten where they impaled a woman and child; but it is equally certain that the Christians had no part or lot in the matter. Two of these warriors were captured at the same time, and were tomahawked outside of the town by the white men.—As to the other charge, it rested upon no other foundation than that one man is said to have found here the bloody clothes of his wife and children, which were plainly those of the woman and child killed near the town, and secreted here by their enemies. Others may have recognized property in the hands of the Indians, since it is probable that the warriors, in their passage through the villages, were in the habit of bartering various articles of value, for provisions, in lieu of money; but if this was contrary to their neutral engagements, it was unavoidable, as the warriors possessed both the will and the means to compel them to give them whatever they wanted.

On such pretexts, the Indians were condemned to death. The blood-thirsty troops were clamorous to begin the butchery without delay. The officers hesitated. But can it be doubted, that if they had been really averse to the crime, they might have checked the vindictive spirit of their unprincipled subordinates?

And had Col. Williamson been the brave man he is represented to have been, would he not have staked his life upon their defence, rather than that the unoffending and pious captives should perish? It was probably, therefore, more for the sake of appearances, and to devolve a part of the awful responsibility upon their men, than from any motives of mercy that they determined first to let it be put to a vote of the whole corps. Col. Williamson put the question, in form: "Whether the Moravian Indians should be taken prisoners to Pittsburg, or put to death;" and requested that all those who were in favor of saving their lives, should step out of their line and form a second rank. On this sixteen or eighteen stepped forward, and upwards of eighty remained. The fate of the Indians was thus decided on and they were told to prepare for death, a brief respite till the morrow being all that was granted them.

During the night the murderers then deliberated whether they should burn them alive or tomahawk and scalp them, and a few proposed milder measures; but the voice of mercy was overruled, and it was determined to butcher them one by one. The Indians were at first overwhelmed at the news of their impending fate. But quickly collecting themselves again, and patiently submitting to the inscrutable decree of the Lord whose servants they had become, they spent the night in prayer, asking pardon of each other for whatever offence they had given or grief they had occasioned, and exhorting one another to a faithful and meek endurance of their trials to the end. At the dawn of morning they then offered fervent supplications to God their Saviour, and united in singing praises unto Him, in the joyful hope that they should soon enter into His glorious presence, in everlasting bliss. In this hour the consolations of divine grace abounded in their souls; they felt the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and cheerfully resigned, they awaited the summons of their executioners.

It was the morning of the 8th of March when the awful scene was enacted. The murderers came to them whilst they were engaged in singing, and asked, "whether they were ready to die?" and received for answer, "that they had commended themselves to God, who had given them the assurance in their hearts that he would receive their souls."—The carnage then immediately commenced. By couples they were led bound into two houses that had been selected for the purpose, and were aptly termed the "Slaughter-Houses," the men to the one, the women and children to the other, and as they entered were knocked down and butchered. A Pennsylvanian of the party conducted the slaughter of the brethren. Taking up a cooper's mallet, (the house had been occupied by a cooper,) he said, looking at it, and handling it, "How exactly this will answer for the business." With this as the instrument of death, he continued knocking down one after

the other, until he had killed fourteen with his own hands. He then handed the mallet to one of his fellow-murderers, saying: "My arm fails me; go on in the same way; I think I have done pretty well."* Of the horrors that transpired in the house of the poor women and children we have no further account, than that a woman called Christina, who had resided in Bethlehem, Pa., and could speak English well, fell upon her knees before the Captain, and begged him to spare their lives, but was told it was impossible. So ferocious had they become that they were not satisfied with simply destroying their lives, but disfigured the dead and dying bodies in a horrible manner.

Thus perished at least ninety innocent persons, of all ages—from the grey-haired sire down to the helpless innocent at its mother's breast. Leaving the houses which were now reeking with the blood and mangled remains of their victims, they went to a little distance, making merry over the horrid deed; but returning again they saw one named Abel, who though scalped and mangled was attempting to rise, and despatched him.

The whole number of the slain was ninety-six; of these some were killed before the general massacre, as Shabosh and his wife, and several who in attempting to escape by swimming the river were shot.—Several warriors were likewise killed at the same time, outside of the town. Of the whole number of Moravian Indians forty were men, twenty-two were women, and thirty-four children. Five of the men were respectable native assistants: Samuel Moore, Tobias Jones, Isaac Glickican and John Martin. Samuel Moore and Tobias had been members of the congregation of that eminently devoted servant of God and most faithful missionary, David Brainerd. After his death they left New Jersey and joined the Moravians. Samuel had received his education from Brainerd, could read and was so well acquainted with the English language, that for many years he served in the capacity of interpreter. The others, also, bore excellent characters and were very useful members of the Church. Isaac Glickican had been a sachem, and was noted among his countrymen for superior wisdom and courage.

Only two lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age effected their escape from the hands of the murderers. One of these was knocked down and scalped with the rest in the slaughter-house of the brethren. Recovering a little, he looked around, and beheld on all sides the mangled corpses of the dead. Among them he observed Abel attempting to rise, whom the white men, coming in soon afterwards, despatched.—With great presence of mind he lay quite still among the heaps of slain, and when they had departed crept over the bodies to the door, still keeping himself in such a position as easily to feign death, if any person should

*This was related by a lad who escaped out of the house, and who understood English well.

approach. As it began to grow dusk, he quickly got out at the door, hid himself behind the house until it was quite dark and then escaped. The other lad had loosed his bonds, soon after it was ascertained that they were to die, succeeded in escaping out of the house where they were confined, and crept by a small cellar window under the house where the women were subsequently butchered. Here he remained undetected, and as the butchery proceeded, saw the blood flow in streams into the cellar. He kept himself concealed till evening, when he with much difficulty made his way out of the narrow window into the woods. These two met providentially, and staying a while to watch the movements of the white party, journeyed together to Sandusky.

The Indians who were gathering corn at Schoen-brunn were saved from the fate of their brethren. They had despatched two brethren to Gnadenhuetten and Salem, carrying intelligence to them from the missionaries, on the day that the band arrived. These, on their way discovered to their great surprise the marks of horses' hoofs along and beside the path, and cautiously followed the tracks, until they found the body of Shabosh. They buried his body, and after observing that there were many white men in the village, and concluding from the fate of Shabosh that their brethren had all perished by the same cruel hands, hastily returned to Schoenbrunn. Here all took to instant flight concealing themselves in the woods for some days, on the opposite side of the river. When the murderers arrived therefore upon the following day, they might easily have been discovered; but, being struck with an unaccountable blindness, and finding no trace of Indians, they soon rode off, after pillaging and burning the village.

In the same night of the massacre the white men set fire to all the houses of Gnadenhuetten, and to the slaughter houses among the rest. The dead bodies were but partially consumed, and their bones remained to bleach in the sun until after some twenty years they received interment by friendly hands. By the light of the burning village the murderers then departed, rending the air with shouts and yells more savage than ever arose in the wilderness before, carrying with them the scalps, about fifty horses, numerous blankets and some other articles of plunder, which they exposed to public sale in Pittsburgh. On their way back they made another attack on an Indian settlement a short distance from Pittsburg, and were partially successful.

After a journey, attended with innumerable hardships, the Indians from Schoenbrunn arrived at Sandusky almost famished, having left all their provisions behind. They returned to a dreary country, and to add to their distress, they returned to take another leave of their teachers. Well might they say with the patriarch Jacob, "All these things are against me." But they murmured not—they trusted in God, and took courage.

In conclusion, may the memory of our red brethren who at Gnadenhuetten sealed their faith with blood, ever remain; and may their pious confession of the Saviour in suffering, their meek endurance, and triumphant Christian death, bear testimony to the Truth as it is in Jesus, as long as the memory of the atrocious deed shall last.*

MORAVIAN LETTERS, 1786-1809.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 1.

River Huron† Janry 7th. 1786.

Dear Sir;

I find myself yet in want of Bags for Your Corn having filled all what I have. I cannot just now exactly tell the Number I have, untill I shall have removed them, but all the Debts are collected, and have upwards of 700 Bush. sewed up. But I am to receive some more Corn from Mr. Zeisberger and others, for which Money is expected. Indeed I have received of an Indian to the value of 5£ in Corn which is not paid yet. The Money is to pay a Debt which was owing to Justice Williams, perhaps You know a way to settle that. I judge there will be about 70 or 80 Bush. of Corn for which hard Money is wanted. I am no

*News of the massacre at Gnadenhuetten reached Congress from various sources and that body immediately wrote the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania for authentic information and asked that an inquiry be made. Gen. Irvine started an investigation but was unable to get any satisfaction owing to public feeling. Many were in sympathy with the leaders of the raid and others called it disgraceful. See *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* by C. W. Butterfield; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. 13, page 297. A letter from William Irvine to George Washington dated Fort Pitt, April 20, 1782 (See *Spark's Letters to Washington*, Vol. 3, page 501-3) describes the scene. Irvine had been away from Fort Pitt on leave and writes: "I arrived here the 25th of March. At that time things were in greater confusion than can well be conceived. The county people were, to all appearance, in a fit of frenzy. About three hundred had just returned from the Moravian towns, where they found about ninety men, women and children, all of whom they put to death, it is said, after cool deliberation and considering the matter for three days. * * *

A number of wrong-headed men had conceived an opinion, that Colonel Gibson was a friend to Indians, and that he must be killed also. These transactions, added to the then mutinous disposition of the regular troops, had nearly brought on the loss of this whole country. I am confident, if this post was evacuated, the bounds of Canada would be extended to the Laurel Hill in a few weeks. I have the pleasure, however, to inform your excellency that things now wear a more favorable aspect. The troops are again reduced to obedience, and I have had a meeting, or convention, of the County Lieutenants and several Field Officers, with whom I have made arrangements for defending their frontiers, and who promise to exert themselves in drawing out the militia, agreeable to law, on my requisitions." Who gave the order for turning out the militia to raid the Moravian towns was never disclosed if it was discovered and the expedition has always been known as Williamson's expedition.

†River Huron, now the Clinton River, where the Missionaries and Indians had lived for four years.

ways forward in assisting anybody in demanding Money, but on the contrary try all means to put it of, yet some have no occasion for anything else, and repeat the Bargain which was made, and which I cannot deny. I therefore hope every one will be served to his satisfaction. If You please to send one by Nathan Lewis* the bearer of this one piece of Scotch Sheeting more I think that will serve me, and if I should find that I should not want it all, I would not cut it up, but return the remainder in the Spring.

I have about 3 Bush of sweet Corn for You to, which I purchased at the price You told me. Lewis will fetch me the Sheeting up to my House in his Carry all, but perhaps You would want the Sweet Corn immediately, and would chuse to send a Man for it yourself.

I must likewise desire You to excuse me that I sent for 3 barrels of Pork and 2 had been sufficient. But it was not my fault. I was much disappointed by a person neglecting what had been his duty, and therefore have one Barrel yet on hand which I do not see that I can sell for Corn without loss. I believe I could sell it pretty well for Sugar in the Spring, but will do nothing without Your consent, I therefore request of You to let me know, what would be most agreeable to You, to take it down to You again in the Spring or to sell it for Sugar, it is shut just as it was, never opened.

My best Wishes I beg leave to Compliment You with in The New Year, and I am

Dear Sir,
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant,

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.

John Askin,†
Mercht. at
Detroit.

River Huron, Jan. 7th 1786,
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno. Askin Recd ye 16 &
Answ. same day.

*Nathan or Nathaniel Lewis was a private in Butler's Rangers and was one of the first settlers in 1787 on the north side of Lake Erie between the creek four miles from the mouth of the Detroit River and Cedar River. In 1791 when lots were assigned to Loyalists he was a laborer on the River La Tranche (Thames). *Ontario Bureau of Archives, 1905.*

†John Askin. See note, page 27 this volume.

John Askin to John Heckenwelder.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 2.

Detroit, Jan. 16th, 1786.

Dear Sir:—

Your favour of the 7th Ins. was this day delivered me by Mr. Lewis when he Relates I will send the Sheeting to make the bags I'm Sorry for the great trouble the Collecting of the Corn must give you for which I Return you many Thanks. I will Settle the 5 £ due by the Indians you mention to Justice Williams so soon as I know who it is & I will provide hard money as Soon as I can for the Others. I had not taken precaution about it so much as I would have done when I understood the Indians was not to have this in the fall & you Even did not at that time think it was Necessary, however I mean to keep my word with them and Everybody and as I suppose they will not all want their money at the same time I probably will Receive from time to time Sufficient to pay them. I thank you for the Sweet Corn it will do in the Spring & I will be glad to take the pork back as I will be out in the Spring.

I Wish you a happy new year and I'm most truly
Dear Sir.

Endorsed.

Detroit 11, Jan, 1786,
From Jno. Askin to
Mr. Heckewelder.
(Copy).

The Moravian Missionaries to Major William Ancrum.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 147.

River Huron Febry. 26, 1786

Sir,

It may not be unknown to You, that we the Missionaries, now Living on the River Huron were towards the End of the last War taken and carried with the Christian Indians belonging to Us to Sandusky. We were from thence called in to Detroit, where in a Council, the Warriors present, our cause was tried, and We honourably acquitted, after which Major now Coll. DePeyster furnished us with Necessary's and a Pass to return

and Live with our Indians in Peace, but finding soon after that our Life was in Danger, he in the Spring following, sent for Us to come into Detroit. We lived formerly on the River Muskingum, where we had for Years together enjoyed Peace on all sides. We had Three large Villages and thro Industry our Indians were so far advanced, that they hardly knew or remembered of anything they wanted. Large and compleat dwelling Houses with furniture; a great Number of Horses; upwards of 200 Cattle; besides some hundreds of Hogg's, with the Corn on the Ground ripe for Harvest amounting at a moderate Computation to 5000 Bushels, were either Destroyed there, or afterwards lost. A few Days after our arival at Detroit, Coll. De Peyster consulted our welfare, and wished with Us, to see Us settled with our Indians again, that they might further be Instructed in the Gospel way. He first proposed to Us, to return over the Lake to where our Indians was, and promised evry assistance in his Power, but we being too sensible, that the same People who were the cause of our Destruction were still residing among the Indians, and of whom we had good reason to believe, wished rather the Indians might remain as they was, than to be converted or civilized would always be ready to do Us any Mischieff which lay in their Power. The Colo believing the Aprehension we were under not to be groundless, proposed next: That We and our Indians should settle down the River, either on an Island, or any other place, which might suit Us best, but as objections were made, the Island being too heavy Timbered, and the War path passing by the other places, he at length consulted the Chibbaway* Chieffs, and it was agreed upon between them, that We might Live on their Land on this River untill Peace should be made, then to return again wherever We chose. He then sent Speeches to our Indians, at and about the Shawnee Towns to invite them in, and after the arival of the first, informed them of the whole matter. We then accordingly went with those Indians in search of a place, and pitched upon the spot We now live on, which was an entire Wilderness. We begun to Work on our Improvement the 26th July 1782, and have continued so untill the present Day, in which time we with our Indians, have built a small Villiage consisting of 27 log Houses, besides some Stables, our Cellars, and smaller Buildings. We have cleared Lands in different places about the Village, made fences ect: so that it appears to Us to be a Valuable Improvement at which, if it suited our Destination, we could now live contentedly and more at ease. But we, being sent by the Bishops of our Church to reside near the Dellaware Nation, to continue to Instruct them in the Gospel, as We had done this Thirty Years past, finding this not to be the proper place, that Nation being so far distant, and they not inclined to change a good hunting ground for a

*Chippeways to whom the land belonged.

worse, neither, that the one half of the Indians belonging to Us have yet on this present Day joined Us on this very account. And moreover, We having found, that the Chibbuways become more and more Uneasy that We stay here so long on their Land after Peace. And that our Indians, whom they call expert Hunters, destroy all their Game. We therefore, have at length resolved to go to our former place, and for that purpose acquaint You of it. But at the same time We beg leave to ask a favour of You, which is: To sell our Improvement. We do not speak of selling the Land. The Chibbuways have frequently told Us that it belonged to them, and to no body else. We only mention the Improvement, in which a vast of Labour is sunk. We understand, that a number of French intend to take possession of our Houses and Labour, without giving Us the least Satisfaction, but We believe it to be far from the approbation of a Comanding Officer to see Us served in such a manner. We rather believe that You will direct matters so that Justice may be done Us in that respect. And We are persuaded, could You but take a view of this our Improvement, You would readily acknowledge, that we justly deserve something for it.

We therefore most humbly present this Petition to You, confident of receiving from You a favourable Answer.

We beg yet to mention that Necessity presses us greatly to such a request, for it is hard to begin again with empty hand.

Written and Signed by

Sir

Your most Obedt
and Humbl Servants

DAV. ZEISBERGER

JOHN HECKENWELDER

WILLIAM EDWARDS

and in behalf of GEORGE YOUNGMAN

GOTTLOB SENSEMAN

MICHAEL YOUNG absent

and in the Name of the Christian Indians

[with us

WILLIAM ANCRUM, Major*

Commandant ect:

at Detroit

Recorded in the Land Office at Detroit in Liber E. folio 12. &c

By me

GEO HOFFMAN† Register

*Major William Ancrum was commissioned captain lieutenant March 14, 1772, in the 34th Foot or Cumberland Regiment and captain May 25, the same year. In 1776 his regiment was serving in Ireland. In 1778 he was serving in America and remained there for some years. He received his commission as major March 19, 1783.

†George Hoffman was the son of Christian and Anna Hoffman and was born January 29, 1783. He was postmaster at Woodstock, Va., in 1801-2 and appointed postmaster at Detroit, Mich., July 29, 1805. He was admitted to the bar after coming to Detroit, September 17, 1805, and served as collector of customs and inspector of the post at Michilimackinac in 1806. On Feb. 15, 1806, he married Margaretta Audrain, daughter of Peter Audrain. He died March 2, 1810, leaving a widow and a son, George Washington Hoffman. His widow married Col. Samuel Welles, Dec. 2 1813. See *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 209.*

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 149.

River Huron Febry. 27th. 1786

Dear Sir,

I would fain have mentioned to You sooner, that I had received the 30lb Coffee by Mr. Dolson,* but had no proper Opportunity—Now I am to ask Liberty, of You in proposing a way, which We think perhaps easiest and best concerning our Improvement, but it is rather to ask Your advice in the matter. We are told, that there are both French and English People watching for Us to leave the place, who immediately intend to go in Our Houses, and make themselves masters of our Labour, without the smalest reward. We therefore, considering our circumstances, (and that We have but a short time to stay, if we, as we intend, to set off as soon as the Lake is clear of Ice) know of no better method, than to lay the matter before the Major of Detroit ect. of whom we are fully persuaded to believe, that he will act impartial, and do Us justice. We therefore being acquainted with You, beg of You, to lay the case before him, and inform him; that We have lived here three Years and an half, that, when we settled first here, we found ourselves in a Wilderness, but by the Industry of about Sixty dilligent hands, have built a small Villige, consisting of 24 log Houses, besides Stables and other small Buildings. That we have cleared Lands, made fences, Gardens, ect. that We therefore cannot think otherwise, than that we ought to have liberty to sell our Labour (We do not mean to sell the Lands but the Labo'ir done on them) and that we therefore beg of the Major to permit Us to do so, as we shall want what little we shall get, to help Us where We shall settle again. Perhaps the next thing then would be, to put an Advertisement up that People might see, that not only the Improvement is for sale, but that likewise it is by permission of the Comandant, which would be a great encouragement to the buyer. Mr Dolson who is here at present, and the bearer of this Letter, has a notion of buying it, but he says also, he would not do it without the Majors permission. I am convinced You will, Sir, act in our behalf as much as lies in Your power, and if You

*Matthew and Isaac Dolson, traders, lived at the mouth of the River Thames. In the fall of 1791 Matthew put two of his children in the School of the Moravians at Fairfield under the guidance of Brother Senseman. In 1798 a son was sent to the same school.

have any proposals to make to Us, concerning the matter, such shall be readily accepted, in the mean time I am

Dear Sir
Your most Obedient
Humble Servt

JOHN HECKENWELDER

P. S. If You have an answer to send to me, Mr Dolson thinks he will have an Opportunity of forwarding it to me the corse of a few Days, and as I know of no Indian going to Detroit for the present, You will greatly oblige me in sending the Letter to him.
J H.

MR JOHN ASKIN
Mercht at
Detroit,

River Huron Feby 27th
1786 : Heckenwelder
To Jno. Askin

John Askin to the Moravian Missionaries.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 4.

Detroit March the 1st, 1786.

Gentlemen :

Your Letter of the 26 of last Month to Major Ancram Com-mandant of this Post I delivered and to which he desired me to give you the following Answer——

That he looks Upon Your Letter as a fair Honnest Narative of the manner in which you came to and settled at this Place and as it Appears to him that from a Wilderness by your Industry you have made a good Settlement for so short a time, he thinks it very just that your labour should not be in Vain, and in Order to Defeat the Ungenirous and mean Intentions of those who you say wait the moment of your departure to take Possession of Your Place without rewarding you for the Improvements you have made he will himself make you a reasonable recompense for what you have done and represent the matter to the Commander in Chief, added to which you will have his Pass & Protection to return to your former Place of Aboad with some Assistance to

your People—There will be a Person Appointed to take charge of Your Place when you Remove.

I am Gentlemen,
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servt.

Messrs. Ziesberger.
Heckenwelder.
Edwards & their
Brethren.

Endorsed.
Detroit March 1, 1786
Jno. Askin to Mrss.
Ziesberger Heckenwelder Edwards
& etc.

(Coppy).

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 3.

River Huron, March 22, 1786.

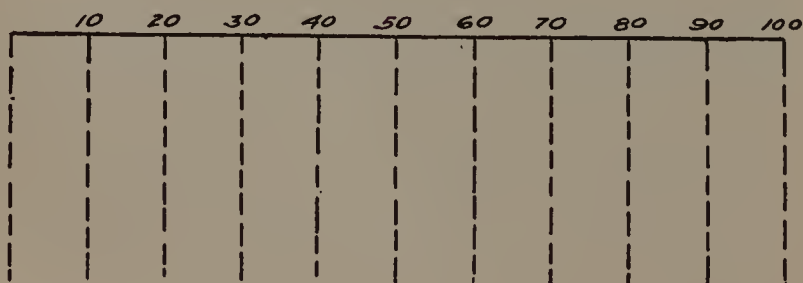
Dear Sir

I have according to Your direction shewn Mr. Bart and the other Young Man the Land and Cornfields over the River, as likewise the Houses in the Village. They like the place exceeding well, but immediately pitch'd on my House and the one in which Your Corn is, which I endeavoured to persuade them, they would hardly obtain, mentioning to them that You had told me at Detroit, and now repeated to me again, that You would reserve these 2 Houses to Yourself. They have walked about on the Land and Cornfields on this side of the River, and by what I understand they mean to do their best, and try for the 2 above mentioned Houses, with the large Cornfield in the bent, namely the field We planted, and which is in a good fence. I desired them not to decieve themselves, but rather to look at some of the other Houses, to which they at last informed me that in case they could by no means obtain the 2 Houses and Cornfield they pitch'd upon they would then satisfy themselves with the 2 opposite Houses No. 14 and No. 15 which are the Houses Mr. Zeisberger and Edwards lives in, and likewise with Land over the River

Moravian Town



Scale of Feet



Plan of Moravian Town.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 920, page 120.

References

No. 1	x	Mr. Heckewelder	best house	2 Cellars & Stable
2&3		Anna & Stephen	a double house,	no outhouses
4		William Gilleways	house,	indifferent
5		Mary Catharina		ditto
6&7		Mr. Bull & Jacob Abbott	Good double house	
8		Lucas	a very good house	
9			ditto	
10		Cornelius		indifferent
11&12		Peter & Adolph		Good
13		Abraham		indifferent
14	x	Mr. Swzenberger		Good
15	x	Mr. Edwards		ditto
16		Adam		indifferent
17	x	Joshua		good
18				indifferent
19		Andrew		Good
20&21			Small but good	
22			ditto	
23			ditto	
24			ditto	
25	x			indifferent
26				ditto
27		Mr. Senseman's		very good
		now Mr. Heckewelders Store		

Endorsed on back:

1786

Map of the Houses & their Situations
in the Moravian Town when purchased by
Major Ancrum & Jno. Askin

opposite the Village—Two Rangers Lewis and Hamilton* have begun to clear Lands back of the Vilage between 2 and 3 Miles, I am not certain that it is within Your Line, but by the description I have of the Indians of the distance of the spot, I can hardly think otherwise. I have heard, that they have try'd the course by the Compass, and say it will not fall in Your Line, and if it did, they will maintain their right as the Improvers (tho this I have not heard themselves say). But be the matter as it will, I think they act very wrong, and besides, they can never be called the Improvers, since some of our Indians has built Sugar Cabbins there, and one had Deadend a Number of Trees, 3 Years ago on the Spot in order to plant Corn there. I have further heard that they shall have said: That they do not look upon a course mentioned according to the Compass, which is caled a Line, to be a line at all, neither do they see any Body warn'd from settling on any Lands hereabouts, within such or such a distance. Wheither they actually have said all this and intend to do what I have mentioned I do not know, but it is what I am told they shall have said and intend to stand to—What assistance I gave to Mr. Fry† was a pleasure to me, and I shall always be ready to assist and serve You, when it is in my Power, and had the Indians have had a better Season of the Year to have worked on the Road, they would most probably have made a very good Road, but it happened just to be at the breaking up of the Weather, and now it will hardly be possible to do much more to it till June or July, however they have done pretty well for the short time they was at it, and I thank You for Using and sattisfying them so well. I hope the Lake will soon be clear of Ice, and We should be very glad if the Corn could be fetch'd as soon as possible, so that We might make room to those who are to Live and plant here for the sooner the can go to Work, the better it is for them, and We want, if possible to put a Crop in

*There was an Andrew Hamilton, a loyalist and corporal in Butler's rangers, who petitioned for lands in the District of Hesse on the River Thames. Two hundred acres were granted to him and located Sept. 11, 1790. He made no improvements on his land and was reported as a "sham settler." In 1791 he had settled at Detroit and was receiving monthly rations from the government, having proved that he had "actually forgone an establishment in the lower districts in order to promote a settlement in the mouth of the River Detroit." He was called a laborer at the time. In 1794, he finally obtained a lot on the River Thames. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905.*

†Philip R. Fry (Frey) was an ensign in the Kings or 8th Regiment and was appointed Naval Store Keeper at Michilimackinac, Sept. 6, 1782. On June 2nd, 1784, he set out on a trip from Michilimackinac to Lake Superior in company with McBeath, Barthe, a carpenter and Capt. Daniel Robertson. When he learned that lands were to be distributed among the Loyalists he put in an application. In 1785 he was appointed deputy surveyor for the district of Niagara and Detroit and that same year he surveyed the lands at Malden. In 1790 he settled in the district of Nassau and in 1796 was living at Canajohary, N. Y. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905; Michigan Pioneer Collections; Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 3, page 214.*

the Ground over the Lake this Spring. I am convinced You will do for Us in that respect what You can.

I am

Dear Sir

Your most Obedt.

Humble Servant

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Ans. March 22

Endorsed.

Huron River the 22.

Mr. Heckenwelder to

Jno. Askin Recd. the 23, &

Answ _____

No. 2

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 5.

River Huron April 5, 1786.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Cornwall* is going down to speak with You concerning the matter We were speaking about, and I wish You may agree. If then there should be anything You have with me, as Candles etc. I shall be obliged to You in letting me know that I make not send them off. I believe You will also assist him in representing to the Major the reason of his absence the other Day, when he ought among others to have appeared. He knew nothing of the

*John Cornwall, whom Zeisberger says came from Connecticut, was appointed to look after Mr. Askin's land after the Moravians left it and to raise corn during the spring and summer of that year. In 1790 he was living at the New Settlement at the mouth of the Detroit River. In 1792 together with two of his sons he received grants of land on the north side of the River La Tranche. He was a Loyalist and served as a private in Butler's Rangers. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscripts Vol. 1, page 159; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905; Zeisberger's Diary by Bliss, page 265.*

Matter till I came home. I shall now look out for Mr. Anderson* and the Vessel every Day.

I am
Dear Sir,
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servant.

[Unsigned letter from John Heckenwelder.]

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin, Mercht,
at Detroit.

River Huron Apr. 5, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder,

Jno Askin, Recd. the 6.

Answ. _____

No. 4.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 6.

River Huron, Apr 9, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I have wrote you a Letter, or rather a kind of petition to the Major concerning our Improvements agreeable to what we was speaking of. You will be so kind and look over it, and if it answers the purpose keep or present it, but if anything should be wanting, or I had not wrote it properly, I beg of You to correct it and send it to me back again, that I might copy it off. I did for that reason not seal it, but if it answers the purpose as it is, You will Seal it or not according to Your Judgement. I suppose I must give You a Bill of Sale, but must ask you the favour of writing it and it shall be signed when we come down—Last Week a Dunker with his Son was here looking at the place, likes it very well, and thinks to find more of his profession that will join and get Farms of You. Two Men, the bearers of this were looking at the fields over the River, they tell me likewise they will rent them for a Year, and afterwards buy Farms. I hear by Them that Your Vessel has been 3 days on the Way for this place, but lays at Anchor opposite the Wind Mill, per-

*This is evidently meant for Understund (Understone). Capt. James Understone was a master in the Provincial Navy during the Revolution and as a Loyalist received a land grant. On March 30, 1791, he petitioned for land on the River Thames. Previous to this on June 5, 1784, he bought a plantation on the south side of the Detroit River near the mouth, from Jacob Schiefflin. He had business dealings with John Askin in 1799. The name is also misspelled in *Zeisberger's Diary*. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vols. 3, 4, 5 and 7; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905.*

haps the Wind will soon change. I forgot to mention above, that in the Letter to the Major I chose to take a late date since at that time we were wishing to lay our circumstances in this manner before him.

I am, Dear Sir
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servt.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Recd. the 10th. & Ansd. 11.

Endorsed.

John Askin,

Mercht at Detroit.

River Huron Apr. 9, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to

Jno Askin, Recd the 10th.

Answ ye 11th.

No. 5.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 7.

River Huron Apr. 13th, 1786.

Dear Sir :

I have got William and several others the owners of the seven Petiagers* to take them down to You, and likewise some of the Women will send Hulling Baskets with them. The Indians who have Petiagers to sell are all in Debt and chiefly their Debts are old ; but they are desirous of paying everybody they owe before they leave the place, and for that reason have desired me to beg to You to assist them. There is no one remaining in Debt to me for You, except the three in the Account, which You are to take out of the petiagers. Willm will enquire of them and inform You who they are in Debt to. We want and ought to be away from this place in the course of next Week, and chiefly on account of those People who are to settle here, and must have Houses to go in. I must detain the remaining seven Petiagers untill the Vessel arrives and is Loaded, and then immediately We intend to push off. I am glad to hear that my Letter answers the purpose, and that You find good People to live on Your Land. I think in a few Years time it will be a fine Settlement, but then You will have to get a Mill built, which will be still a greater encouragement towards settling. Mr. Cornwell

*Petiager, periager, pettiager, periagua, a canoe made from the trunk of a single tree hollowed out. Same as pirogue, periogue.

assures me he will do the best he can for You, and tells me the Land is to be laid out in Lotts very soon, which I think very needful. I am informed as I believed and told Mr. Frey; that there is no 13 Mile Tree to be found on the Road, so that the Road is one Mile shorter than We expected—I hope You have got the Seeds I sent You by Mr. Dolson Mr. Cornwell thinks it will not be amiss if he keeps the Powder and Shott yet remaining here.

I am

Dear Sir, Your most obedt. Humb. Serv.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit,
River Huron Apr. 13, 1786
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno Askin, Recd the 15th
& Answ same day.

No 7.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 8.

River Huron Apr. 13, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I was favoured with Your Letter Yesterday afternoon, and am sorry that I knew nothing before of Your wanting the Peringers so bad. We will endeavour to have some down by tomorrow Night, Amos Western* has pitcked upon No. 14 and I believe the Cornfield below the Villiage. I would be glad to know wheither Mr. Cornwell might have the Hose to live in next to mine, in which Your Corn is No. 27. he asked me about it, and I told him that I had understood You intended to keep

*Amos Weston was an Englishman and a blacksmith. He had been many years with Stedman and in 1790 petitioned for a lot in New Settlement, being a United Empire Loyalist. In 1795 he had a house with a shop in it at Springwells. He died sometime in 1797 and his estate was probated, being the first probate case in the county of Wayne. John Askin was administrator. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 3, page 89, Vol. 4, pages 192-3, Vol. 18, pages 120, 128-138; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905; Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 1, page 434.*

these 2 Houses to Yourself. I'm sorry the Vessel has such bad luck, and cant come up yet, however it may be soon.

I am Dear Sir,
Your Most Obed.
Humble Servt.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Recd. the 14th Answered same day.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit.

River Huron April 13th, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to Jno. Askin

Recd. ye 15th. & Answd. same day.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 9.

Huron River Apr. 17th, 1786.

Dear Sir:

At length Captn. Understund arrived at the Mouth of the River and is now at my House. I am not at present possitive what quantity of Corn will be taken, but We have agreed to send 400 Bags down, and in case it could not be all loaded to leave the remainder at Tuckers*—The Barrel of Pork, Hog and other things belonging to You I will also send likewise Mine and Mr. Zeisbergers Fowles. You will see what is sent by the Account, and what is left with Mr. Cornwell, I will acquaint You of when I come down, which will be I hope in a few Days, as We are getting ready to go off as quick as possible. I am very sorry that You was Disappointed in getting the Number of Petiagers, and had it not been, that the Mouth of the River had been shut up for a few Days with Ice, I would have sent such of our People down who would have behaved better. I think I may venture to assure You now, that there are 7 large and well made Petiagers at this place, which no one is to have but You. I sent 2 of my Tables by the Vessel and leave one for the Use of the House. Likewise I believe the 2 fishing Canoes will be stored in the Boat, which if so, You will please to present to the Major and Adjudent Arden. I can assure You

*William Tuckar, who had been stolen when a boy by the Indians and afterwards given a grant of land by the Chippewas on Lake St. Clair between the Clinton (then the Huron) River and the Riviere Aux Vase. See *History of Macomb County, 1882*, page 232.

We are very sensible of the manifest favour of the Major towards us, and think ourselves very happy in finding him (the same as Col De Peyster,) a friend and Benefactor to Us, for whom it is our Duty to pray to God to bless abundantly, as it is not in our Power to make any other recompense—But You, Dear Sir, may be also assured, that You will never be forgotten by Us, We are, and always will be indebted to You for the favours and kindness shown to Us, and our People last Spring, and wish and pray that God may reward You in full degree for it. I am sorry that I have hardly time to write this Letter, for I have at this time much to do, and much to think of, otherwise I should have been more particular, but I trust You will excuse me and Understand what I mean, tho it may be imperfect wrote. Mr. Understund will do his best, and take as much of Your Corn and things as possible, and if We are so lucky as we wish, in getting the Vessel loaded, he may we hope have a better and quicker Voyage back than coming up. Should I forget to mention anything in this Letter, I shall mention or acquaint You by the next Opportunity or when I see You, in the meantime I remain,

Dear Sir.
Your most Obed.
Humb. Servt.
JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.
Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit.
Huron River April 17, 1786,
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno. Askin Recd. April 21 —
No. 8.

John Askin to David Duncan.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 909, page 135.

Detroit April 18th, 1786

Sir

Agreeable to what we settled between us I now send the Vessell to fetch the Pork etc. I also send another Vessell to assist in taking the Moravians to their former Place of Aboad. I had some intentions of sending some Goods and establishing a house at the Cayageu but as reports have prevailed here that you were going to send Goods into the part of the country where we trade & carry of some of our traders best furs least I might be suspected to have a hand in any contraband or underhand trade is the reason why I have not sent anything. * * *

I have given the following orders on you which please discharge—

Favour Mr. Edwards for	15..13.—
favour Mr. Zeisberger for	19..19.. 6
favour of the Indians 200 dollars	80
favr. of Mr. Bull 20 dollars	8

all New York Cur. £123..12.. 6

I have only to add that I wish you health & happiness & am
Sir

your most obdt.

humble Servant

JOHN ASKIN

Mr. David Duncan*
(Copy)

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 10.

Hopes Cove,† May 28th, 1786.

Dear Sir;

About a half hour Your Barge arrived safe in this Cove where they found both Your Vessels and ourselves lying yet on account of Contrary Winds.

We had but once since our first arrival a midling fair Wind with which we made an attempt for the Grand River, but by the time we had sailed 30 Miles, the Wind turned right ahead again, and we were obliged to run back again to the Islands. We are indeed impatient to get to the main shore where our Inds. may get hunting for a great many of them has been out of provision this good while, and had it not been for Captn. Underston and Gutterie‡ supplying us in a great measure with Fish, we would have been certainly in a bad Condition, there being more of us in number than 100 who all want Victuals, and the Children in particular are most troublesome in that respect. I have proposed to both Cpts. whether the Mackinaw Sloop could not set part of Us on Shore at the Mouth of Sundusky, thinking it

*David Duncan and William Wilson were a firm of traders, buying for John Askin, M. Elliot and Caldwell. David Duncan was collector of customs at Michilimackinac in 1801 and 1805, and was removed from office in 1806. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 928, pages 189, 233, Vol. 931, page 55.*

†Hope's Cove in Put-in-Bay Island, so called because a ship named "Hope" passed the winter there, frozen in. *Zeisberger's Journal, Vol. 1, page 271.*

‡James Guthrie, captain of the Beaver. In 1799 he was planning to go to Scotland. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 7, page 23.*

will speed the Voyage in a gret measure, and only carry our Baggage with a few hands to the Grand River. I hope it will meet Your aprobation. I thank You a thousand time for Your kindness in sending Us some provision. I had already served what I had of my own out to the hungry Indians. I think it would be to much to agree to Your kind offer in sending us more provision, have consulted Mr. Zeisberger, Edwards and Ball about it, but we are of Different opinions concerning this matter. I should indeed be very sorry, should all this be at Your own expenses, but should Government, who indeed has always been very kind and acted as a father to Us do as much more for Us as to send the boat with a little more Provision, we being in a desert place on an Island and not knowing when we shall be off, at least the whole of Us, We shall indeed be very thankful and acknowledging for it. Captn. Understun has had great patience with Us, and deserves much praise, for I assure You so many Indians at all times are no agreeable Cargo in the whole. Your Boat will wait no longer, and the Vessel is getting Clear as quick as possible to return to Detroit. We thank You again for Your indeed parental Care for Us and

I am and remain Dear Sir,
Your most Obedt. Humble Servt.
JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,
Mercht, Detroit.
Sandusky Island, May 28, 1786.
Mr. Heckenwelder to Jno Askin
Recd. and Answ. June 5th —
No. 9.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 11.

Gajahoga* June 9th, 1786.

Dear Sir :

I can now inform You that We all arived safe at this place Yesterday, and the Vessel the Day before. It was indeed luky for Us, that We were got ashore by Hony Point and did not attempt to go with so many People on Board for this River, which yet, if a Wind had been but favourable while we were at the Islands, We being Ignorant of the difficulty and Danger would have gone, and most probably been knocked to pieces.

*Gayahoga also spelled Cajahaga and now written Cuyahoga. The city of Cleveland is at the mouth of the river.

Mr. Gutterie indeed deserves much praise for the trouble and care he took, first in making 2 trips to the above mentioned Point, and lastly at this place. He will be able to give You the best Description of this River and the Danger in attempting to get in, There being not quite 3 feet Water on the Bar ect. I'm sorry to find that nobody from Fort Pitt is on this River, and that it seems Mr. Duncan has not fulfilled his promise as yet, but for what reason I know not. There is a House with about 230 or 40 baggs Flower in it 7 Miles up the River, but neither White person nor Indian to be found about the place, I understand the Flower belongs to Mr. Elliot and Colwell.*

We think of sending Mr. Bull off to Fort Pitt to enquire for Mr. Duncan and how matters are, since We have also a great deal of Cloathing lodged by our Society at Bethlehem in his hands. You will hear afterwards farther by the first Opportunity, In the meantime I and we all acknowledge all Your kind favours to Us, and shall always pray to God to bless You abundantly, I am

Dear Sir
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Endorsed.
Mr. John Askin,
Mercht at Detroit.
Gajahoga, June 9th, 1786.
Mr. Heckenwelder to
Jno. Askin Recd. the 21 —
No. 11.

John Heckenwelder to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 12.

Gajahoga River, July 14, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I suppose You have heard already, that We have settled and planted a little Corn in this River, and as matters seem as yet not to be cleaverly at Rights in the Indian Country, We, I suppose may stay here some time, perhaps at least a Year or Two. At present We are pretty much pinched in the way of

*Capt. William Caldwell was born in Ireland and at the beginning of the Revolution lived in Pennsylvania. He was a "refugee loyalist" and lead the company against Sandusky when Crawford was captured and killed. He settled at Malden or Amherstburg and his descendants still live there. *History of the Girtys by Butterfield*, page 163.

Provision, but I hope we will be able to surmount this and other difficulties. We understand, that 2 paquets of Letters for Us, were sent to Detroit by People that took Cattle in for Mr. Duncan and it is likely they are left with Captn. Caldwell or at McKee.* I must beg of You to enquire for them, and send them by the first Opportunity to the Mouth of this River, (where Mr. Neil† who has the Care of Flower and Your Pork lives) It was not Mr. Duncans fault that the Pork was not out in the right time. I suppose he has mentioned all about it to You already—Perhaps I may go in the Fall down in the Country to see my Relations, but am not as yet fully determined on it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most Obed.

Humble Servt.

JOHN HECKENWELDER.

Ansd. July 26.

Endorsed.

Mr. John Askin,

Mercht at Detroit

Gajahoga, July 14, 1786.

Mr. Heckenwelder to

Jno. Askin Recd. 26 & Answd ye 16.

No. 12

John Askin to John Heckenwelder.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 455, page 13.

Detroit Sept. 16, 1786.

Dear Sir:

I was favoured with your Letter of July in that month and it gives me great Satisfaction to hear that you and Your People are well, I think you have acted very prudently not to go farther untill you find things more Settled—

I made Enquiry about the Packett for you, Captn. Caldwell had it, and took it out with him to Sandusky and says he left

*Col. Alexander McKee, Indian agent at Pittsburg before the Revolutionary War, was imprisoned at the outbreak, at that place, but made his escape. He became Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian affairs under Sir John Johnson and was a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas at Detroit. He died January 14, 1799. His son, Thomas Alexander McKee, married Therese Askin, a daughter of John Askin. *The Diary of Mrs. Simcoe by J. Ross Robertson, Toronto 1911, page 171-172.*

†*Zeisberger's Diary, Vol. 1, pages 286-295,* says that Mr. Neal became afraid of the insolence of the Indians and decided to return to Pittsburg.

direction for you to have it sent you, I am Sorry, it did not go by some Sure hand—

We are all well and wish you Prosperity—

I am Dear Sir,

Your Most Obedt.

[Unsigned letter of John Askin.]

Endorsed.

John Askin to Mr. Heckenwelder

16th Sept, 1786.

(Copy).

David Zeisberger to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 207.

Cayehaga River October the 11th, 1786.

Dear Sir

I received your Letter of September the 16th— yesterday & am much obliged to you for it. Mr. Heckenwelder was gone to Bethlehem just a Day before your Letter arrived with his family. The Packet of Letters which Capt. Caldwell had, we received, it was opened & an Almanac & some Newspapers was wanting, which however signifies nothing, if we had all the Letters I cannot tell. I had a very bad hot fever, so as many of my people, thank God I am much better now, though hardly able to write. Only I & Mr. Edwards who has the same fever, are now here. There is much talk among the Indians about War of which they are in Apprehension. May God prevent it & give us peace.

Wishing you health & the Blessing of God I am

Dear Sir your most obdt. & humble Servt.

DAV. ZEISBERGER

(Mr. John Asking Mercht.)

Recd. Dec. 18th.

David Zeisberger to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 1, page 319.

Huron River* June 24th, 1789

Sir

Please to send me if possible by Mons. Huno two hundred Weight of flour which I will pay him for when he brings it either in Corn or what he pleases, only let me know the Prize thereof. I hereby send you The stated Rules of our Society for propogating the Gospel among the Heathen, annexed to it an Act of Assembly in the State of Pensilvania for that purpose, as you will see, and I send another which you may present to whom you please, or think to be a friend to such Understandings. Since we left Detroit our Mission has encreased much. Our Indians are almost twice the Number they were at Detroit.

Wishing you and your family much Health and Happiness

I remain Sir your most obedt. & humble Servt.

DAV. ZEISBERGER

Mr. John Asking

Hugh Holmes to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 83.

River Thames 13th. Nov., 1798.

Sir,

Not finding an Opportunity of forwarding your letter to Mr. Senseman†—I rode up to the Moravian Town and delivered it to him in person, I asked him if it required an answer, he told me no; that he had wrote to you some time ago and had fully satisfied you about the Corn which will be sent down in the Spring as soon as the vessel arrives. there has been no traders

*The Moravians moved from the Cuyahoga River to the Huron River in Ohio and there founded a new home, New Salem (Pettquotting). It was on the site of the present town Milan, Erie Co., Ohio.

†Gottlieb Senseman was born October 9, 1745, and died at Fairfield, Canada, January 4, 1800. His father was Joachim Senseman and his mother Anne Catherine. She was killed by Mahoning in the surprise, Nov. 24, 1755. In 1780 Gottlieb went to the Muskingum and was stationed at Schonbrun. He was among those forcibly taken to Sandusky in 1781 and lived on the Clinton (Huron) River and in Canada on the Thames. *Heckewelder's Narrative, edited by Connelley, 1907, pages 216-217.*

there this season therefore I apprehend there will be no difficulty in collecting all your corn.

I must inform you that my wife was cast away near the Belle River and lost all she had except the Cyder,—I cannot procure either a Boat or a Canoe to take your Corn down, and the season is so far advanced that it is dangerous to take down a load. I hope therefore you will condesend to wait till the Spring.

The Letter you sent to W. Jackman I have sent you enclosed. His brother* thinks you will find a better opportunity of sending it from Detroit, than he could from the River Thames. You will be pleased to address it To Mr. Willm. Jackman living on Cooks Run near the mouth of Little Redstone, Fayette County, State of Pennsylvania.

There is considerable Trade to be made with the Indians, there being no Trader within 12 Miles of this place.

I would like to have half a piece of Stroud and a proportionable quantity of other articles suitable, likewise a Barrel of Spirits. I shall not trust a farthing and what remains unsold I will return. I have sold some Cyder but the Indians will not buy it while they can get Whisky, neither will they buy whisky when they can get Rum.

If you can supply me with the above articles (which I hope I will be able to pay you for without any difficulty) please to let me know by the bearer John Kennedy who intends to put up at Carpenters.

I remain your Humble and Obt. Servt.

HUGH HOLMES†

John Askin Esquire
Merchant Detroit.

William Dealy to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 69.

Mereven Town‡ November the 23, 1798

Sir,

I Request the feavour of your honour to send me by the bearer fourteen pounds nine shillings N Y C that I have advanced to the people that assisted me in seaveing the Property

*There was a Richard Jackman who petitioned for a lot on the north side of the River Thames and received a grant June 21, 1793. *Ontario Bureau of Archives*, 1905, page 233.

†On the 2nd of July, 1790, Hugh Holmes petitioned the Land Board of the District of Hesse for land on the river La Tranche (Thames). His occupation was a farmer. He received a grant, found it unfit for cultivation and returned the certificate. *Ontario Bureau of Archives*, 1905.

‡Moravian Town, the settlement of the Moravians on the Thames River. Charles Askin describes it in a "Journal of a Journey from Sandwich to York in the Summer of 1806," *Ontario Historical Society*, Vol. 6, pages 15-20: "This town, I think, is about thirty miles from the entrance of the river, finely situated on a high bank, on the north side of the river; the opposite side of the river the soil is better and is what the Indians cultivate."

of the United States which the sergent has seen the recite, please to demand this of Colonel Strong.* I have sent you a power of attorney hoping that your honour will not take my boldness in Evil part. If this feavour is not granted me it will expose me which I would not for ten times the sum and my watch I am in great need of for I work by night. The bond that Mr. Gouewey† is security to your honour. I will have no other need of troubling of your honour until I bring your vessel to the Detroit. I forgot to mention Mr. Hurd as he is my chief evidence in affear

I am your honour

Humble servant

WILLIAM DEALY‡

John Askin Esqr
Detroit.

Gottlieb Senseman to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 92.

Fairfield,§ Dec. 1st, '98

Sir,

A few days ago I was favoured with your obliging Letters, accompanied with some foreign Letters for me, in your care, for which I return you my sincere Thanks, as much as I know, all my Letters send to me, by your care, have arrived safe; I should be very happy if I could send now and then a Letter with the Post from Detroit to Philad. but I am at a loss to whom I should send it. perhaps you may not stay long there, or els I don't doubt you would do me the Favor to put on in the Post, if there is any postage to be paid in Detroit, I am willing to pay it.

Your corn here, owing to you by our People, they are collecting allready. I have appointed an trusty Indian to collect & measure it, & keep a true account; who has also a proper house

*See note, page 41 this volume.

†Probably intended for Gouie. Robert Gouie was a British subject and after living on the American side of the Detroit River for some time, moved to Sandwich. He was engaged in trade with the Indians, Gabriel Hunot being his agent. He was in Major Baby's company of militia in 1805 and during the war of 1812 served in Capt. Pierre Labute's company. He owned private claim 670 in Springwells. *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 222.*

‡William Dealy (Daly) was a ship carpenter and contracted to build Mr. Askin a boat in the winter of 1798-99.

§The Moravian Town on the Thames was first called "Fairfield" on Nov. 16, 1794. It was founded in 1792. *Zeisberger's Journal, Ontario Historical Society, Vol. 12, page 193.*

to store it. Your Account, you send me, agrees with that, Mr. Nichol your late Clark, left here at my house.

About the Tea, which he left with J. Henry, which was 23 d. he has sold but a little of it, which account he brought to me, before he went from here to Muskingum, which I have added to every ones Account, as they had not paid him, the rest of the Tea he sent to you according to your Desire. I think that you will recollect that you wrote a Letter to me late last Spring, and desired me, that J. Henry should send the rest of the Tea down to you, as you were then in great want for Tea, accordingly he did, and I myself have helped him packing up the Tea; if you have received the Tea I cannot tell. One Mr. Wm. Daly has been here, he tells me, that he is going to build a small vessel for you this Winter, above us at the Pinery,* he further told me, that he will be down with the Vessel early in the Spring by the first Flood, and then your Corn can be put in the Vessel, he will carry it to Detroit to you for 18 Pence Buhl. If the man is to be depended on, it would be the safest Way for you, getting your Corn in Time; but if not, I see no other Way, but that you send a small Vessel or large Boat early in the Spring, our People will bring it down near the Mouth of the River to the Vessel for one Shilling pr Buhl. which they always received from our Town to Mr. Dolson's Place; with these small canoes they do not like to venture over the Lake with so much Corn, as it is dangerous by Stormy Weather; the Amount that you have to get, comes to about 460 Buhl. at 6/ p Bushl. I have taken the Pain of making an exact Calculation of every ones Debt, what quantity of Corn he has to pay at six shillings pr. Buhl. and I shall be circumspect about it, that all shall be payed.

I have only to add that I am with much Esteem

Your most obed. and very humbl Servt.

G. SENSEMAN

Dear Sir—

Excuse Errors I wrote in hast.
Mr. John Askin Esq.

Detroit

Pr. Favor of Mr. M. Dolson at Dover.

*The Pinery was land along the River Thames covered with pine woods in which at a later date several saw mills were erected. Askin describes it in his journal, "All these mills are fine mill seats, as the fall of water is great, the banks being very high." It extended through several townships including Delaware and London. *Ontario Historical Society, Vol. 6, page 16.*

John Askin to Rev. G. Senseman.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 99.

Detroit 10 Decem. '98.

Reverend Sir—I am this day favoured with your very obliging letter dated the 1st Instant & return you many thanks for the pains you are taking, to have what's due me by your people collected and I will pay the person you have employed to receive & store my Corn whatever you think right respecting the transport here. If the man who is to build my Vessel here has her ready in time it will be best both for him and me as I can allow him one shilling pr Bushel for so doing which will be clear gain for him. Mr. James Henry did return me the Tea that remained. I had not forgot it. I am glad the letters for you, thro' my care have always got so safe, any you may have to send I will take charge of, and tho' there is no regular Post yet there is frequent opportunities, and I'm sure the Colonel* or Quarter Master† of this place will forward any letters I may give them, with pleasure, besides I know they have a great liking to your people in general, and many of them are acquainted with Mr. Hackenwelder.

The 6/ per Bushel allowed your people on the spot I believe is a very fair price. Corn is by no means scarce here & I think it will hardly fetch 8/ any time between this and the new crop.

The Rev. Mr. G. Sensemann Riv. Thames.	I remain etc Friend J. ASKIN.
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P. S. I Inclose John Henry say Cristian Henry's Orders on you for 7 1/2 Dollars which I have Chrd. to your Account.

(Copy)

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 182.

Fairfield Feby. 9th. '99

Dear Sir—Your Corn due to you by our Inds. is chiefly all collected and stored; the Indn. whom I appointed to measure and store it, tells me that he received nigh 500 Bhl. and to my own Calculation the Total due to you, comes to above that Sum or quantity. I shall use my best Endeavors, that all shall be

*Col. David Strong and Assistant Quarter Master Elias Wallin.

paid; some Indians, as you know yourselves are little concerned about making Payment; without the Creditor himself is present, and peremptorily demands it. There are but very few left, of whom I know, that they are bad Paymasters, two of them promised me, to bring their corn themselves down in the Spring, and I shall remind them of it at the Time.

Mr. Wm. Dealy promised to bring the Corn down in the Spring, in the new Vessel, he is a building for you, but I am a little afraid it will be laid, as I have been held. his work goes on but slowly; I shall write to him, and hurry him on; and I wish very much you would do the same, that you might receive your Corn at the proper Time, and as early as possible;

I have received not long ago a Letter from Mr. Nichol your late Clark; wherein he mentions to me, that he has entrusted a few Goods to Lodwick, one of our Inds. when he was here last; the Payment for which he shall deliver to you; (they were his own Property) I acquainted the Indian of it, and he is willing to do it. It makes 25 Dollars.

I would likewise desire you, to send me my Account, as I had a few Articles from Mr. Nichol when he was here with Goods; the Account I had for it, I have lost among my Papers; you will be so good, as excuse the Forbearance of the Payment, as I not come to Town so frequently, as I formerly did, or els I should have paid it before now.

I am with due Respect

Dear Sir

Your most Obedt. & Humbl. Servt.

G. SENSEMAN

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit

John Askin to Rev. G. Senseman.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 5, page 192.

Detroit 14 Feby. '99

Reverend Sir

I am just favoured with your letter dated 9th Instant, and am very much obliged to you for the pains & Care you have and are taking respecting what is due me by the Indians. I fear Mr. Dealy will be late with the vessel, therefore agreeable to your advice now write him. I yesterday recd. a letter for you & am happy to have so good an opportunity of forwarding it. I wrote you not long since by young Henry. I trusted the Indians with him for a few things by his desire and for the payment

of which he became accountable, I suppose he will deliver it in with the rest.

In conformity to your wishes I now send you your acct—my favor £12. 6. 9. It's a matter of no consequence when paid.

I have charged you in it the Postage of a Letter directed to Mr. Zeisberger. If wrong take it from the account.

(Unsigned.)

Copy of letter of John Askin to Rev. Mr. Sensemann.

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 15.

Fairfield Apl. 19th., 1799

Dr Sir—

I am at a loss now, how to forward your Corn to you, which is due to you by our People and was collected some time ago. I have not been at Home, when Mr. Dealy came here with his Vessel, and was told after I came home, that the Vessel was not fit to take in Corn; even Mr. Luz who hath some corn in, advised Mr. Young* not to send your Corn along, and that he intends to dispose of his Corn, which is about 300 Buhl., here on the River, if he possibly can without sustaining great Loss, as he is sure of, the vessel will take in a great Deal of Water on the Lake, if it should be a little stormy, for she was **neither** corked nor pitched sufficiently, and then Mr. Dealy could hardly take in two hundred Buhl. and there is above 500 B. here for you. I hear there is a Vessel to come soon to fetch Corn from Mr. Uquhart to Detroit, perhaps that Vessel could take it in, but then our People must bring the Corn down there, for which carriage they allways receive one Shilling a Bushel; for our People to carry the Corn in their Canows to Detroit it is impossible but if it is all the same to you, and you can wait till the Vessel for Mr. Abbott† is done, which I am told, will be some time in May or June, the Inds. will bring it down, which is at Mr. Dolsen's. If you will communicate to me your Intentions & Descitions, I shall do what lies in my Power.

*Probably Michael Jung, who was born in Alsace in 1743 and immigrated with his parents to America in 1751. They joined the Moravian Church at Broadbay, Maine. In 1781 he was called to serve an Indian Mission and labored among the Indians 33 years. He was one of the missionaries at Fairfield at the time of its settlement. In 1813 he retired to Litiz, Pa., where he died Dec. 13, 1836. *Zeisberger's Life and Times by de Schweinitz.*

†The Abbotts were among the wealthy and influential people of Detroit. James Abbott died before July 25, 1800, leaving six children. His will was dated May 28, 1799. He had three sons, Robert (1772-1852), James (1774-1858) and Samuel (1775-). *Governor and Judges Records, Proceedings of the Land Board, 1915, page 164.*

When the Corn is a going from here I shall send you the Accounts, there is a few who have not payed of entirely, but it shall be done yet

I am with due Regard Dr Sir

Your very Humbl. Sert.

Mr. Jn. Askin Esq.
please excuse Errors
being in much haste

G. SENSEMAN.

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 73.

Fairfield Jun. 3d., 1799

Dr Sir—The Bearer Lodwick is a coming down, he is the Man, who has collected & stored your Corn, which makes by my Calcuttion 456 Buhl. When all the Corn is delivered, I shall send you the Account of all who have paid and those who are still in debt to you, by all my Endeavors I could not get it all, as I wished, but they have promised to pay, if not this Sumer, certainly next Winter, two or three will come down & pay you there. I want to persuade Lodwick to stay till all your Corn is gone, but he seems to be in great Hurry, for I told him that Mr. Askin will not be willing to pay him, before he has received the Corn; I am waiting every day for your men to fetch the Rest for I am afraid the Corn may get damaged, by the warm Weather, for all it lies on a Floor, yet that Floor lies close to the Ground, where it gets damp, as the Indian have Houses of one Story, which have no Lofts.

Lodwick has also to settle with you an Account which concerns Mr. Nichol your late Clerk, he has given him a few Goods, for which he still owed him 16 Dollars and has received his Orders to pay it to you, which he tells me, he will pay to you now part in Peltry and part in Corn.

You will know best Sir what to pay to Lodwick for his Trouble; I asked him about it, he told me, that Mr. Dolsen who got this Year above one Thousand Buhl.—from here, paid the Man who collected and stored it, six Pence for one Buhl., which he thinks he ought to have, to which I answered I have nothing against, if Mr. Askin is willing to pay.

What I have forgot to mention shall follow in my Next. Meanwhile

I am Dr. Sir

Your sincere Friend

& humbl. Sert.

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit.

G. SENSEMAN

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 101.

Fairfield Jun. 18th, 1799

Dr Sir—

I received your kind Letter a few Days ago, by Lodwicks return. It is a great Pity your Battoe is not in the River now, as the Water is high enough at present for any Battoe to come as far as our Place, as there fell some heavy Rains higher up the River and swelled it up considerably. I am not a little concerned about your Corn, by this hot & sultry Weather, as it lies in a small House, where it cannot well be stirred and throwed about, as it ought to be; but however I made Lodwick more circumspect about it, and made him take out a Quantity, to make more Place for stirring the Rest. I look out every Day and Hour for your People with the Boat, for I am afraid that much longer Delay will damage the Corn; if it was in Bags, it could be heaped up so that it could not easily receive any hurt; and I was sorry, that I did not write to you in my last to send with Lodwick about 80 or 90 Bags.

Any Battoe may come up this River in the Sumer Season as far as to Mr. Field's* Mill, which is about 13 Miles below us, and may go from there loaden back again, but from here it must be carried there in Canows, or very tight Boats; but at present any Boat may come up here.

With an anxious wish of soon seeing your Boat here

I am Dr. Sir

Your much obliged &
very humbl. sert.

G. SENSEMAN

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit

*Capt. Daniel (also called Donald) Fields was captain of militia on the south side of the River Thames in 1796. He had a flour mill before 1795. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 4, pages 12, 23, 105.*

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 167.

Fairfield River Thames, July 23th., '99

Dr. Sir—

According to your Request I have spoken with Mr. Traxler;* and I found him willing to store your Corn in his new House, till such time you fetch it from there, but as the River is so low at present, that it is hard and difficult to be brought there from here, so I got the Indn. to replace about one hundred Bushel, to be more to Air, to prevent it from getting damaged.

The dry Season this Year gives me but a poor Prospect for a good Crop of Corn, still we hope, if soon rainy Weather comes on, it may come to yet.

Wishing you Joy and Happiness with your Family

I remain Dr Sir

Your sincere Friend &
most humbl. Sert.

Mr. John Askin Esq.
Detroit.

G. SENSEMAN

Benjamin Mortimer to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 200.

Goshen on Muskingum 14 Aug. 1799

Dear Sir

At the desire of Mr. Zeisberger I beg leave to recommend to your friendly attention, the bearer of this, the Rev. Mr. Appelt,† who is going as missionary of the United Brethren to reside with Mr. Senseman on Thames river. We shall be much obliged for any kindness you may shew him & Mrs. Appelt.

*In 1791 Peter Tractley petitioned for land and the next year received a grant on the south side of the River La Tranche. John Askin tried to get a warehouse at the mouth of the River Thames in 1800 and wrote him for one of his buildings. He spelled the name "Traxler." Charles Askin in his "Journal of a Journey in 1806," speaks of dining and feeding his horse at Mr. Traxelers. *Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 7, page 201; Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905, pages 145, 202.*

†Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt was associated with Christian Denke in 1802 in preaching to the Chippewas in Upper Canada. In 1804 he went with a company from Fairfield and began a mission on the Pettquotting near the site of New Salem. *Zeisberger's Life and Times by de Schweinitz, pages 660-663.*

Mr. & Mrs. Zeisberger and Mr. Edward unite with me in best respects to Yourself and family.

I am with much esteem

Dear Sir

Your most obedt. humbl. Sert.

BENJ. MORTIMER*

John Askin Esq.

Detroit

By favor of the Revd. Mr. Appelt.

G. Senseman to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 207.

Fairfield Aug. 18th, 1799

Dear Sir

I was favoured with your kind Letter of the 2d. Inst. by Saml. White some Days ago; previous to his return 120 Buhl. of Corn went down the River to Traxlers, by Lodwick, as the River from the Rain has risen, I hurried them on. There was still 128 Buhl. left, which Saml. White and the others whom you have paid for already at Detroit, have taken down there; so that all your Corn is now at Traxlers. I have paid Lodwick part for his Trouble for taking Care of the Corn this Sumer, shoveling it about sometimes, & replacing some, & the Carriage of the 120 B. to Traxlers, but there is still 5 Dollars coming to him, which he will receive at your Store.

Inclosed I send the Acct. of the People who have paid, & of those who are still indebted to you; I endeavoured all in my Power to get in the whole, & also had the promise for the whole, but was at last by some disappointed, however they promised again sure Payment by the next Crop; those who have not paid, you may account for bad Paymasters.

Saml. White & Anthony have told me, that they would pay, or settle with you at Town, I dont know wether they have done it or not, Beau tells me that he has paid Jn. Henry the Dollar he owed you in Cash, the Time he set of from here to Muskingum, with the Order to give it to you. The four Indn. viz. Joseph, Daniel, Jn. Adam, & Chr. Gottlieb or Henry, who came

*Benjamin Mortimer was born in England. He came to Fairfield with Heckenwelder in 1798 and in October of the same year, together with Zeisberger and some Indians from Fairfield he founded Goshen. Later he became pastor of the Moravian Church in New York City where he died Nov. 10, 1834. *Zeisberger's Life and Times*, by de Schweinitz, page 648; *Heckewelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley.

back from Muskingum last Winter; and have at the same Time taken a few Things at your Store on trust, have paid here in Corn, which you will see on the Acct. Chr. Henry likewise has paid 10 Buhl. Corn for the £3 he owed you, and for which you have charged me, as I found it on my Acct. for which you will give me Credit. (I never gave him an order for it).

It would be very much to my Mind & Wish, if you would think it worth while for you, to have a Store here on the River, as at Traxlers; most of the Inds. here would wish it, & be glad for it; you might make in the first a Trial; that Distance the Inds. could bring their Corn, Peltry & other Produce easily. And till there any Boat or Craft can come at any Time.

You would do me a great Favor, if your People, when they come up with the Boat to fetch your Corn, could bring a Barrel of Salt along for me, which I have at Mr. Huntington's* in Town. I would willingly pay for, they would leave it at Mr. Traxlers.

Also I wish you could send me one or two Quires of your gilded Paper, the same you comonly write your Letters to me, if you have any to spare, I forgot it entirely when I was at Town; you may send it with the Bearer. I have no more at the present to add, only that I am

Dear Sir with Sentiments of

much Respect

Your huml. Sert.

G. SENSEMAN

John Askin Esq.
Detroit.

John Askin to Rev. G. Senseman.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 6, page 233.

Detroit 28 August, '99

Reverend Sir

Your very kind letter dated the 18 instant reached me today, covering an account of what Indians had paid, & who were still in Debt, I am certainly under very great obligations to you, for the great pains & trouble you have taken & will at all times be ready to return your kindness, I have made out a new statement of just what your people owe me, & have taken the liberty of sending it to you as a check on their conduct, should those that

*Benjamin Huntington (1777-1850) was a merchant in Detroit for a few years but left in 1802 to become a merchant in New York City. He married Faith Trumbull Huntington, daughter of Gen. Jedidiah Huntington. He finally became a well known banker in New York. *Prominent Families of New York.*

now owe, not incline to pay after the crop is ripe. I mean for certain to set up a store at Mr. Trackseller's & to send goods there so soon as they arrive, which cannot be long & I thank you for the encouragement you give. I'm sure the person who intends going, will do your people the strictest Justice. I will pay Lodwick the 5 dollars you say is yet due him, and will be glad to know how much you have given him for taking the 120 B. corn to Mr. Trackseller's, shoveling the corn about & taking care of it in the summer so that I may repay you. For his first rescuing & storing it, I gave him the 26 dollars he owed Mr. Nicholl. I have credited you for the £3 which were charged on Christian Henry's account, by the Boat that goes up with my Goods I mean to fetch the Corn away which will save expenses, & by her send you the salt you have at Mr. Huntington's. All my gilt paper is out, but I send you a Quire of such as I now write on folded in two, to see if it will answer. If not I will purchase gilt for you.

Signed J. A.

John Askin to Rev. Senseman

Copy.

Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 7, page 178.

Fairfield Dec. 14th, 1799

Sir

The kindness, you showed me, when I was in Detroit & the kind offer of your service, I received from you, gives me the confidence to trouble you with a Commission. I have here a letter of some importance, which I should send so soon as possible. You would oblige me very much, if you would send it, by the first Opportunity to the Post. Mr. Senseman is very sick* on the consumption & we expect his departure very soon. He sends his last Compliments to you and all his friends in Detroit. I beg the favor of you to acquaint with it Mr. Huntington, as I understand, Mr. Senseman had some Dealings with him, that are not settled. I shall take care to settle it next Spring, where I shall have the pleasure to see you also in Detroit.

I am Sir your humble Servant

GOTTFR. SEB. OPPELT.

To John Askin, Esq.
Detroit

*He died January 4, 1800

Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 8, page 66.

Apr. 21st. 1800

Sir

Your Letter of the 16th Febr. I received in March. Ludwig died last year, therefore I spoke with Jacob, to collect the corn, what Our people owe you, but we could'nt find the Account you sended to Mr. Senseman & our People were all on their Suggar Camps. Therefore, we couldn't do much.

Jacob is, I think, the best man for it & better than Ludwick, because he is a sober man, can speak a little English, hath a good House to keep the corn & his son can write a little. He collected 153 1/2 bush. which Mr. Barthy takes down. He will also sell the goods, you sended by Mr. Barthy & I will assist him as much as I can. The price of the Salt seems to be very high, because they can get it here the Quart for 2 shillings. We send you by Mr. Barthy 13 1/2 bush. Wheat. Be so kind to give Mr. Senseman credit for it. When I come down I will settle the Rest. I send also some flower seeds for Mrs. Askin, which I promised when I was in Detroit. I would be very glad, if I could get some little Rosetrees, when Mr. Barthy comes a second time.

I have Ludwicks Account, but it will be very hard to find it out, who took the goods. His poor Widow dont know it, she told me, she must pay the rest, but it will be very hard for her.

My Compliments to Mrs. Askin.

I am with due Respect

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

GOTTFR. SEB. OPPELT

Mr. John Askin Esq.

Detroit

Fairfield April 21st, 1800

The Reverend Gottfr. Seb. Oppelt

To John Askin Recd. ye 24th

Ans. Apl. 27, 1801.

Benjamin Mortimer to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 8, page 144.

Goshen, Moravian Indian Town
River Muskingum 12 Aug. 1800

Mr. John Askin,
Dear Sir,

The bearer of this is my worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Dencke, who arrived here lately from Bethlehem, and is going to reside as Indian missionary on the River Thames. You, my dear Sir, we have the best cause to regard as a sincere friend and well wisher to the good cause in which he is engaged. As such, on the rare mention of his name & character to you, you will I am sure be happy to render him any civility in your power. I flatter myself also, that on acquaintance, he will acquire your personal esteem. He is desirous to apply himself with zeal to the study of the Chippeway as well as of the Delaware language, with the benevolent intention of endeavoring to make that benighted, heathen nation acquainted with the saving truths of the gospel. The loan of a vocabulary of Chippeway words or any other assistance or advice to promote the speedy acquisition of their language, will be particularly acceptable to him.

Mr. & Mrs. Zeisberger & Mr. Edwards* unite with me in best respects to yourself, Mrs. Askin & family.

I am very truly

Dear Sir

Your most obdt. Servt.

BENJN. MORTIMER

John Askin Esqr.
Detroit

By favor of Revd. Mr. Dencke.

John Askin to Major William Ancrum.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 8, page 192.

Detroit June 29th 1796

Sir

Tho I have not had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you these many Years I have made it my Business to enquire of every Gentleman who had seen or heard of you at home how you & your good Family were & it made me happy to hear in general that you were all well——

*William Edwards was born in Wiltshire, England, April 24, 1724, and died at Goshen, Ohio, October 8, 1801. In 1798 he and Heckenwelder brought a portion of the congregation from Fairfield back to the Muskingum. *Heckenwelder's Narrative*, edited by Connelley, page 267.

In a very few days the Americans will take Possession of this Fort, & from every Information I can get, I Understand they are very unfavourable to Indian Grants, however as I do not mean to give up your pretentions or mine to the 4,000 acres of Land on the River aux Huron formerly where the Mauravians lived, I should be glad to bring forward the best authority in my Power for making the Purchase & as I understood from you that you once wrote the late Lt. Gov. Hope* on that subject & had a favourable answer If you are Still possessed of that Answer & will Send it to me it may perhaps be the means of preventing our Loosing Sd— Land which probably will Soon be valauble or if you have any other papers or matter to advance to Strengthen our Claim I Should be glad to have them—Gov. Sinclair† I understand is to reside here

Mrs Askin's Compts to Mrs Ancrum

I am

Sir

Major William Ancrum

34th Regt

near dublin

Ireland

your &c

(Signed—JOHN ASKIN

Detroit Augt 22d 1800

Sir The foregoing is the Duplicate of a Letter I wrote and to which I have not had any Answer. The Claims to Indian Land are not yet decided on, but Commissioners for that purpose is Expected next Spring or Summer before which time I hope to have your Answer. Conner keeps Possession of the whole but if the United States proves favourable to our Purchase, I will soon set the Lawyer at him. before it would be needless. Your old friend M. Leithe is here to him I will give this Letter in charge & I dare say he will be able to have it convoyed to you in Safety. Of your old Acquaintances here I only know of Colonel McKee, M Sharp & Mr Abott Dead.

I remain with real regard

Sir

your most obedt.

very Humble Servt.

J: A

*Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hope was a member of the Legislative Council and assumed the government in 1787, pending the return of Lord Dorchester from England. He died at Quebec on the 13th April, 1789. *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report 1905, page cxxv.*

†Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory. See note, page 58 this volume.

John Askin to the Reverend Mr. Oppelt.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 9, page 83.

Detroit November 16th. 1800

Reverend Sir

Your obliging letter dated the 28th of last month did not reach me before yesterday, and I fear much that its now an improper time to send for my corn owing to the water being too low in the river and the expectation that it might freeze up before the boat could go and return therefore I beg you will get Jacob to take all the care he can of the corn so as it does not get spoiled and I will pay him honestly and fairly for his trouble.

I assure you sir I am very far from blaming you for the mistake that has happened by selling my goods for corn (I meant them for wheat only) but if exchanged for the four shillings was a very high price, for I assure you that Mr. Mackintosh sold it here last winter for that price & I have not heard of any selling since for more than 5/ and I can get for 4/ today I'm sure therefore as it was a mistake and the Indians know it must have been so. Honest people among them should make up the difference as I would do to them was the mistake in my favour, however I only told Jacob to tell them that, not that I can nor mean to force them, but as they know I have always been their friend and dealt honestly by them they should do the same by me. I am sure you will be so good as to advise them after which let them do as they please.

I'm sure the fault must have been with Mr. Barthe tho' he denies it. I give you my word my directions to him was to change the goods for wheat or skins or to bring them back.

I beg you will not let any more of the goods be sold, untill you hear further from me about them, and if its not too much trouble write me what remains.

I'm in hopes you will be down some time this fall or winter and then I will let you see what the Indians owe me.

I have now to thank you for the trouble you have taken and if I can render you any service here please command

Reverend sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

[Unsigned letter from John Askin.]

P. S. Please present my compliments to Mrs. Oppelt
The Reverend Gottfried Oppelt

Major William Ancrum to John Askin.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 9, page 222.

London 23d March 1801.

Dear Sir,

I was favor'd with your letter of the 22d Augt. 1800, about three months ago, after it had travell'd, I believe, all over England, Ireland, and Scotland—and it at last reach'd me by mere accident here in London.

The copy of the letter it contains, dated 29th June 1796, I never receiv'd; or I certainly shou'd most punctially have answer'd it.

The subject on which you have written those letters (the purchase of our lands from the Moravian Missionaries and Indians settled on the Huron River) I am but ill prepar'd at present to answer, to give all the satisfaction I cou'd wish, as all my papers are in Ireland. But as soon as we had made this Purchase from the Missionaries and Indians, I immediately acquainted Genl. Hope of it, and receiv'd a very favorable answer, assuring me that we shou'd not be interrupted in it, and, I think, I either shew'd you this letter, or mention'd the contents to you. And when I went down to Quebec, I mention'd the matter very particularly to General Hope himself: And I remember very well his answer; which was, that tho' Government in general, was not favorable to such Grants, but that as we had been at a very considerable expence in this Purchase, and on the lands afterwards; (And also paying me some compliments on my conduct during my Command at Detroit, which I don't choose to mention) that on this Occasion the Grant shou'd be look'd upon as valid. And, I think, I wrote to this purpose to you from Quebec before I sail'd for England, but of this I cannot now be certain, after so long a space of time.

I shall certainly hope that those Gentlemen, the Commissioners when they come to settle those claims, can have no objection to this of ours, so fairly purchas'd: And which at the same time was a great Act of humanity and justice to those Missionaries and Indians; in re-imbursing them for the expences they had been at in their Buildings, and clearing the lands, and a reward for their labour; and which otherwise must have been a total loss to them, on leaving the spot.

You have all the papers respecting this purchase with the Missionaries & Indians; Specifying the Sums we paid, and Sign'd by all the Missionaries, and also the Chiefs of Indians, I believe as also a Correct Survey of the lands taken by Mr.

Fry which cost us likewise some money. I have also a Copy of that Survey.

From all those circumstances, I can make no doubt of our being perfectly Establish'd in our right—tho' regret not having it in my power to have recourse to my Papers and correspondence with General Hope, which I cannot have at present.

Pray, who is this Mr. Conner who you mention to be in possession of those lands at present? I never heard of this circumstance before.

As I cannot doubt of the justice of the Commissioners of the United States, and their clearly deciding in favor of our claim; I expect this Mr. Conner will be speedily dispossess'd.

I request my best Regards to all my remaining friends with you—I am very sorry to hear of the death of some. With best Respects to your family, I am, with much Regard, & Esteem

Your Sincere friend, & Hum. Servt.

WM ANCRUM

P. S.

As I cannot at present exactly say where I may be when you may next write to me Direct to, Park-house Old Brompton near London—and it will be forwarded to me.

(Superscribed)

Mr Askin

Detroit.

Recorded in the Land Office at Detroit in Liber E. folio 9. &c

[By me

GEO HOFFMAN

Register

John Schnall and Christian Fr. Denke to Solomon Sibley.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 920, page 127.

Fairfield, June 7, 1806

Dear Sir!

The bearer of this, our trusty & well behaved Indian Jacob, is dispatched, merely on account, to have a safe conveyance to receive the cash from You, as our mutual circumstances will not permit, for either of us to appear personally.

Inclosed You receive the duplicate draughts, which according to Your kind promise, You will be pleased to accept, & discharge the same, the amount of both is £60. We are in great need for cash, & are totally exhausted.

We beseech You, to have the complaisance of forwarding Jacob, as soon as possible, he being in a hurry.

Provided we receive the cash of You, we have wrote an order on You, in favor of Mr. Moses David of Sandwich for £20—..— which You will be pleased to accept, & on demand pay him. You are immediately to deduct the amount of the order, from the cash or draughts, & will have the kindness to drop a line to Mr. David & sent the same across pr. Jacob, acquainting him, whether or not You have accepted our draughts & reserved the cash towards paying his order, the amount of £20—..—.

If Mr. Bates* has any account against us, for postage, You will be pleased to answer the same, take your pay, & sent in the bill & receipt.

If duly perused the books of Mr. Denkey,† You will be pleased to return them pr this opportunity, as likewise any letter or parcel for us, having come to Your hands. The late papers were duly received & perused with satisfaction & we beseech You to continue to send us from time to time some papers for perusal.

Seeing occasionally our good friends, in Your neighborhood, You will be kind enough to express our good wishes for them, & inform them of our welfare. Mrs. Schnall has been brought to bed the 26th. of Aprill, by which occasion their family received a supply, by an infant daughter.

Mrs. Schnall & Mrs. Denkey join us, in expressing our best wishes & compliments, to You, for Your further weal.

We are & sincerely remain unchangeably

Your true friends & most humble Servants

JOHN SCHNALL

CHRISTIAN FR. DENKEY

*Frederick Bates, who was postmaster at Detroit until July 29, 1805, when he was succeeded by George Hoffman, was born June 23, 1777. He was the son of Thomas Fleming Bates of Belmont, Goochland County, Va. He was apprenticed to the county clerk when 16 or 17 years old and studied law while in that office. About 1796 he came to Detroit in the Quarter Master's Department of the Army of the Northwest Territory. He engaged in mercantile pursuits and was the first postmaster in Detroit. He served a few months with the Governor and Judges as Senior Associate Judge and then went to St. Louis, where he was the first recorder of the board of land commissioners. He was appointed secretary of the Territory of Missouri, May 7, 1807. He was elected governor of the state in 1824 and died August 2, 1825. *Governor and Judges Journal, Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit, 1915, page 150.*

†Christian Frederic Denke (Dencke) arrived at the Fairfield Mission in 1800. He had spent several months at Goshen with Zeisberger and was well versed with the Delaware tongue. He built a hut among the Chippewas in 1802 and preached to that tribe until 1806 when their enmity became so apparent that he was forced to abandon the mission. He returned to Fairview where he and his wife were employed in teaching children the English and Indian languages and the Gospel. During the war of 1812 they went to an Indian camp farther up the Thames and returned at the close of the war in 1815. They remained in the old town while they erected a new town higher up on the opposite side of the river, which was called New Fairfield. A missionary Schmidt came to assist Mr. Denke. *The History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians in North America, from its commencement to the present time by a Member of the Brethren's Church, London, 1838.*

P. S. Should our Brother, an assistant for the mission by the name of Joachim Hagen, a german, whom we expect from Muskingum (for which reason of conveyance, some Indians have been send thither)—call on You, as likely he shall, we wish hereby to recomend him to Your kindness. Probably he will have recomendations by our brethren J. Heckewelder & B. Mortimer, to see You.

Turn over

If You will be pleased, to let us know, if towards fall in the month of August or September, You could again favour us by accepting a draught for £30—..— on Mr. H. Tenbrook New York, or Mr. Godfroy Haga in Philadelphia—we should be much obliged to You.

John Heckewelder to William Woodbridge, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 105, page 174.

Gnadenhutten 9th. Jan. 1808

Mr. Woodbridge*
Dear Sir

Your kind favr. of 26th last Month was duly received by last Mail. Altho I had enquired of Mrs. Matthews† if she had learnt that her Brother was employéd as attorney by a Man (Mr. Knouse) in a case then about to be instituted against me, I had no other motive than a wish to know, what Number of lawyers Mr. Knouse really had employed—and what their names were—and as Mr. Knouse had told some of his friends, that one of his lawyers was Mr. Cass‡—another Mr. Irwin—and

*William Woodbridge was born in Norwich, Conn., August 20, 1780. His father was Dudley Woodbridge, a graduate of Yale College and a "Minute Man" in the Revolution. After the war was over he moved to the Northwest Territory and was one of the earliest settlers of Marietta, Ohio. In 1802 William began reading law and was admitted to the bar at Litchfield, Conn., and in Ohio. In 1814 he was appointed Secretary of Michigan Territory and Collector of Customs at Detroit by Pres. Madison. In 1819 he was delegate to Congress from Michigan. In 1820 he was again Secretary of Michigan Territory and in 1828 one of the Judges of the Territory. In 1839 he was elected Governor of the State and in 1841 United States Senator. His wife was Julianna Trumbull, daughter of John Trumbull, author of "McFingal." He died October 20, 1861.

†William Woodbridge's sister Lucy.

‡Lewis Cass, second governor of the Territory of Michigan, was born in Exeter, N. H., October 9, 1782. His father, Major Jonathan Cass, fought in the Revolution and was stationed in the Northwest Territory under Gen. Wayne. Lewis came to Mariette, studied law under Return J. Meigs and was admitted to the bar in 1802. He fought in the war of 1812 with the Ohio volunteers. In 1820 he organized a canoe trip to Lake Superior and the source of the Mississippi. In 1831 he became Secretary of War under Jackson and served until 1836 when he was appointed Minister to France. In 1845 he was elected United States Senator and resigned in 1848 to accept the nomination for President. He was re-elected in 1849 as Senator and served until 1857 when he entered Buchanan's cabinet as Secretary of State. He soon resigned and returned to Detroit where he died June 17, 1866.

a third (whose name had slip'd his memory) resided at Marietta; mere conjectures pointed you out to me as *probably* his Attorney, knowing of no other lawyer at Marietta that attended Zanesville Courts. Had even Mrs. Matthews answered to my question in the affirmative—being informed that Mr. Knouse *had* employed You—be assured Sir, I never would nor could have reflected on your conduct—never on *that* account, should have been at liberty to conclude, that you had overstepped the bounds of friendship. I know well what is customary—as what duty requires in a Professional Character—and I hope, that should it happen so hereafter, that you actually were called upon by Mr. Knouse, and employed against me, that my esteem for you, as an Individual of a Family I so highly prize, shall yet thereby not be lessened. I am as liable to commit an error as any other Person. Justice we owe to each other—it is a right all are entitled to, Mr. Knouse as much as myself. I do not wish him rob'd of his claim if any he has against me—but one thing I am sure in, and that is: that any Man of common sense, hearing the *truth* of the whole matter, could never find matter from my actions at that time, to censure my conduct. But there are instances, where one person in doing a good act, has unjustly been accused of doing wrong. I believe this is a similar case. However I am not yet certain that he will commence a suit against me. I know this, that no candid Lawyer having a *true* Statement of the case before him, would advise him to it.

I hope Dear Sir, that these lines may remove from your Mind, any thoughts, if any there were, that I felt hurt etc. & believe me your sincere friend and Obdt. Servt.

JOHN HECKEWELDER

P. S. I beg to be remembered particularly to Mr. & Mrs. Woodbridge, and to evry Individual of that by me much respected family.

J. H.

William Woodbridge Esq.
Marietta
Ohio.

John Heckewelder to William Woodbridge, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 106, page 117.

Gnadenhutten 20 March 1809

Dear Sir

I acknowledge with gratitude, the receipt of your very friendly & interesting Letter of 20, Feb. last. Some time before, I had learnt of several Gentlemen, on their return from the Legislature, of the conduct of James Clark, with regard to the business he *was* to do—and that which he was *not* to do—and the part

he acted. He had misled many, or rather deceived many, in order to obtain their Suffrages at the Election for a Member of the Assembly. In many instances he had declared "on his word & honour"—and so he got in. Me, he never yet has deceived. I never considered him as a man *of* honour & principle, & it being a settled point, that where there is no honour, there can neither be truth nor shame, so I never trusted—neither believed him in anything he said, and for that reason depended altogether with regard to the Petitions we sent on, to the judgment & candour of the respectable Members of the houses. One curious fact, I ought not to omit mentioning to you, vizt. On the 23d day of Jan. he wrote two Letters from Chillicothe, in the one to me, he pretended to be exerting himself in obtaining for us, *everything our Petition prayed for*. The other Letter, directed to Aquilla Carr, stating altogether the *reverse* and the *mischief* he was trying to do *us*—the success he expected to have in getting the Seat of Justice removed *from* Philad. etc. etc. was a few days after Carr had rec'd the same from the Post Office, sent by an Express to Sugar Creek, (agreeable to Clark's request) to inform the party *there*, what he was doing for *them*—and on its way there—strange to tell—this letter was lost from the packet of the bearer, and found in said Philad. the same day. Here the very men, who had assisted in voting him into the Assembly—men, who had heard him declare, that upon his honour he never would attempt any such thing—nor support such a measure & etc.—now had access to his own Letter, to one of *his* party—I say *party*—tho I do not mean here "political Party"—for their is no such thing as a political *party* in this country—but a party however exists, that would, if they could, pull down, & tear to pieces, every lover of Justice, order and good Government—every *honest* man. You will readily understand me and know what class of People such be. I have not as yet learnt much of what has been done in the Legislature, having seen none of the new Laws—but from the little I *have* heard & seen in private Letters directed to me (not from Legislators alone) I am satisfied that party Spirit was too prevalent. It appears to me, that if a change does not take place soon,, Liberty & *Equality* may become the hue & cry.

Please give my best regards to Mr. & Mrs. Woodbridge and to every individual of that to one so worthy family and believe me

Dear Sir with much esteem, Your sincere friend
& obedt servt

JOHN HECKEWELDER,

Willm. Woodbridge Esq.
Marietta

John Askin to John Schnall.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 15, page 215.

April 22nd. 1809

Reverend Sir,

You will oblige me, by urging Jacob to bring me down, immediately what Indian corn and wheat he has or can collect of the debt due by him and your Indians. There is still due £36..19..11 and has been due before August 1807—I at that time sent him, Jacob an account of those who owed it and begged then and often since that he would get and bring me the payment, & if not all as much as he could, I now stand in great need of it and for fear he might forget those who owe, I now name the people again underneath Vizt:—

For goods he got himself to sell out	£18..11.. 9
For due by himself besides those goods	1.. 1.. 8
Jacobs son	2..14.. 6
Iseral	1.. 4.. 0
Zachariah	4.. 7..
Adam	12.. 6
Betsy	1..16..
Hirtookee a Chippawa Indian not at Mo- ravian Town	12..
Samuel	4.. 6.. 6
Stephen	1..14..
Amount	£36..19..11
	36.. 7..11

I remain

Reverend Sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

Signed JOHN ASKIN

N.B. Hirtookee is an Chippawa Indian, and should not be in the account therefore 12/ less and only £ 36.. 7..11

Strabane April 19th, 1809

JOHN ASKIN SENR.

to

The Reverend John Schnall at Moravian Town.

(Copy)

John Schnall to John Askin, Esq.

Burton Historical Collections, Manuscript Vol. 15, page 227.

Fairfield May 15, 1809

Dear Sir

I have received your kind Letters from April 22 and May 7, 1809 and have laid the contents before Jacob, which I repeated several times but he was at the same time very poorly. he worked too hard at bringing a Canue load (torn) corn to Mr. Dolson. And with his son he is in great trouble, because he is in a bad way, so that he cant trust him a load of Corn, except he goes with him. Now Jacob thinks it is impossible to bring the Corn to your House before planting is over, which will last some weeks, but as soon as planting is over, I shall put him in mind what he has promised.

Mrs. Schnall and myself sends our kind salutation to Mrs. Askin yourself and family

I remain Dear Sir
Your sincere friend

JOHN SCHNALL

Mr. John Askin

P.S. Jacob told me, when he brought the last 60 Bushels Corn to Mr. Askin he told him at the time, that the remainder he owed him was 3 Dollars, therefore he thinks it must be a mistake on your bill, namely for goods he got himself to sell out £ 18.11.5.

I have given our people an admonishing because the dont pay the old debt to their good friend, who had done them a great deal good in former times. There answer was: If Mr. Askin would come here at such a time when we have corn plenty, we would pay him clean out but to bring the Corn over the Lake is too hard and sometimes dangerous, especially at high winds.

Mr. John Askin
near Sandwich.

DOCUMENTS ON EARLY INDIANA HISTORY.

(Continued from page 271.)

William Henry Harrison to Gen. Charles Scott.*

Photostat from Original in the War Department, Washington, D. C.

Vincennes 13 Dec. 1811

My dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 27th, Ultimo by the mail of Wednesday last & beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the friendly sentiments it contains.

You wish me to give you some account of the late action that you may be the better enabled to do me justice against the "cavils of ignorance & presumption". I would do this with great pleasure but the Legislature of this Territory being about to close its session and having an unusual press of business I am unable to give you such an account as would be satisfactory. There is however less need of this as my official account to the Government will probably reach you nearly as soon as this letter. It appears to me from the hints contained in some of your newspapers that the charge of error in the planning or the execution of the late expedition has been more particularly aimed at the President than at myself. I most sincerely thank these Gentlemen for placing me in such good company, and it is hardly necessary to inform you that the charge against the administration in this instance is as unfounded as in all the others which have flowed from the same source. The orders of the Government with regard to the expedition evince as much wisdom as humanity. It was determined to protect its Citizens—but if possible to spare the effusion of blood. This last object was prevented. But by whom? Why in a great measure by those very persons who are now complaining because a battle could not be won without loss. At least in this territory the clamor is confined to those who opposed the Expedition to the utmost of their power and by whose exertions in circulating every falsehood that malice or vilany could invent the Militia were prevented from turning out and instead of a force of from 12 to 1500 men which I expected to have had I

*Gen. Charles Scott of Kentucky fought with Braddock, Wayne and St. Clair. From 1808 to 1812 he was governor of Kentucky, and a town and county in that state are named in his honor. He had some correspondence with Harrison on the subject of the battle of Tippecanoe. *Historical Narrative of Civil and Military Services of Maj. Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, etc.*, by M. Dawson, Cincinnati, 1824, pages 243-249. Scott died October 22, 1813, aged 80. *Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biog.*

was obliged to march from Fort Harrison with less than 800. My personal enemies here united with the British agents in representing that the expedition was entirely useless and the Prophet as one of the best and most pacific of mortals—"a perfect Shaker in principle who shuddered at thoughts of spilling blood; Every one of his aggressions upon us was denied or paliated & excused with as much eagerness as in the conduct of Great Britain by this same description of people in the Atlantic States—A party sent by the Prophet fired upon & wounded one of our Centinels upon our own ground—the fact was at first boldly denied "the man was shot by one of our own people"—and I believe it was even reported that he shot himself—when the whole circumstances was brought to light—those indefatigable Gentry shifted their ground—and asserted that the poor Indian fired in his own defense and that he was merely gratifying an unusual curiosity in creeping up to see what was going on in Camp and that if he had not shot that the Sentry would have shot him.

I regret exceeding that the friends of Colo. Daviess should think it necessary to his favor to suppose a difference of opinion between him & myself which never existed, that I had slighted advice from him which was never given, and that to give color to this they had listened to stories with regard to the operation of the army that was absolutely without foundation—If the utmost cordiality and friendship did not exist between the Colo. and myself, from the time of his joining the army untill his death I have been very much deceived. If our Military opinions were not almost always in unison those which he expressed (and no man who know him will accuse him of hypocrisy) were not his own—The Colonels mismates. Major G. R. C. Floyd & Capt Paitt are well acquainted with the entire confidence which subsisted between us—They are acquainted with circumstances which indisputably establish the fact—and they and others know that I was the object of his Eulogy to an extent which it would be indelicate in me to repeat—Colo. Daviess did indeed advise me to a measure the day before the action in which he was joined by all the officers around me—Whether the advice was good or bad is immaterial to the present discussion *Since it was followed to the extent that it was given*—It is not necessary to express my opinion of the Cols. merits at this time since it will be found in my official letter and I have no doubt that it will be satisfactory to his friends—

With regard to my own conduct my dear Sir it is not in my power to enter into a defense of it unless I were to know in what particular it has been arraigned—However I may with safety rely for my defenses upon the opinion of my army—believing more sincerely that you do feel "that lively interest in my fame and fortunes" which you profess I am sure you will

persue with interest the enclosed declaration signed by all the field officers of the Army one only excepted who was absent and the Resolutions entered into by the Militia of this country who served upon the expedition—The Testimony of men who fought and suffered by my side ought I should suppose to be conclusive—

An idea seems to prevail in your State that in the action of the 7th the whole army was completely surprised and that they were placed in a situation where bravery only decided the contest and where there was no opportunity whatever for the exercise of military skill of any kind—This was however far from being the case—It is true that the two companies forming the left angle of the rear line (Barton's and Giegers) were attacked before they were formed and that some of the men were killed in coming out of their tents but it is equally true that all the other companies were formed before they were fired on and that even these two Companies lost but a very few men before they were able to resist—Notwithstanding the darkness the order of Battle (such as has been previously prescribed) was taken by all the Troops—The Officers were active the men cool & obedient and perhaps there never was an action fought where (for the number of men engaged) there were so many changes of position performed—not as disorder and confusion but with military propriety—The Companies both Regulars and Militia were extended, contracted wheeld marched and made to file up by word of command—My orders and they were not a few, were obeyed with promptitude and precision and if I am not more grossly deceived that mutual dependence which ought to exist between a Commander and his army was reciprocally felt.

It has been said that the Indians should have been attacked upon our arrival before their Town on the evening of 6th. There were two reasons which prevented this—first that the directions which I received from the Government made it necessary that I should endeavor if possible to accomplish the object of the expedition (the dispersion of the Prophet's force) without bloodshed and secondly—that the success of an attack *by day* upon the Town was very problematical—I certainly did not understand my instructions to mean that I should jeopardize the safety of the troops by endeavoring to bring about an accommodation without fighting—But if I had commenced an attack upon them after they had sent a chief to inform me that they were desirous of an accommodation and that they had three days before sent a deputation to me for the purpose who can doubt but that a much greater clamour would have been raised than exists at present—the cruelty of attacking those innocence people would have been portrayed in the strongest colours the administration would have been represented as murderers and

myself as their wretched instrument. But the army were exposed to the "nightly incursions" of the Indians—It has been well observed by a writer in the argus that if "a nightly incursion" was really so much to be dreaded by the army it had no business there—But the author of these objections perhaps will be still more surprised when he learns that a nightly incursion was precisely what I wished because from such a one only could I hope for a close and decisive action. If they had attacked us by day they certainly would have done it upon ground favorable to their mode of fighting—they would have killed (as in General Waynes action) a number of our men and when pressed they would have escaped with a loss comparatively trifling. In night attacks discipline always prevails over disorder the party which is able to preserve its order longest must succeed—I had with me 250 regulars that were highly disciplined and my militia had been taught to form in order of battle to receive any enemy in any direction with facility & precision—"But in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy why were not the Troops made to continue under arms throughout the night"? I answer that troops can only bear a certain portion of fatigue and when in the presence of the enemy it is a matter of calculation with the Commander when they should be kept under arms and when permitted to rest—Upon this occasion I must acknowledge that my calculations were erroneous. In common with the whole army I did believe that they would not attack in the night—If it was their intention to attack us why had they not done it upon our march where situations favorable to them might easily have been found. Indeed within three miles of the Town we passed over ground so broken and disadvantageous to us that I was obliged to change the position of the troops several times in the course of a mile. They had fortified their Town with care and with astonishing labor for them, all indicating that they there meant to sustain the shock—It was the scene of those mysterious rites which were so much venerated and the Prophet has taught his followers to believe that both his person and his Town were equally inviolable to us—I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms but I did not believe however that they would accede to them—and it was my determination to attack & burn the Town the following night—It was necessary therefore that the troops should be as much refreshed as possible. But altho the men were not made to remain all night under arms every other precaution was used as if an attack had been certain. In fact the troops were placed precisely in that situation that is called by military men "lying upon their arms" the Regular troops lay in there tents with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides—the Militia had no tents they slept with their pouches on and their arms under them to keep

(Continued on page 362.)

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